

MEMOIR OF

SIR FRANCIS HENRY GOLDSMID BART.

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SIR FRANCIS HENRY GOLDSMID



MEMOIR
OF
SIR FRANCIS HENRY GOLDSMID

BART., Q.C., M.P.

SECOND EDITION

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PREFACE
TO
THE SECOND EDITION.

IN preparing a new edition of my Husband's Memoir I have been advised by my friend, Sir Thomas Erskine May, to give greater prominence to Sir Francis Goldsmid's Parliamentary career, and to his principal speeches, upon a variety of subjects, in the House of Commons.

I have profited by Sir Thomas May's valuable suggestion, and I trust that the few additional pages will conduce to a fuller appreciation of the talents and public services of the subject of this Memoir.

LOUISA S. GOLDSMID.

ST. JOHN'S LODGE, REGENT'S PARK, LONDON :

October 1882.

PREFACE.



I HOPE I have judged rightly in assuming that a short record of my husband's life might prove of interest to many personal friends, as well as to a large number of his brethren in faith in England and abroad. For the compilation of this volume I am indebted to the kindness and ability of the Rev. Professor Marks and the Rev. Albert Löwy.

LOUISA S. GOLDSMID.

ST. JOHN'S LODGE, REGENT'S PARK, LONDON :

October 1879.

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PART I.

BY

PROFESSOR MARKS.

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CHAPTER I.

THE morning of Friday, May 3, 1878, will be long and painfully remembered for the sad news it brought that Sir Francis Goldsmid was no more. He had returned on the previous evening from a journey by the South-Western Railway, and whilst alighting from a carriage at the Waterloo station, the door of which had been opened before the train came to a final halt, he fell, and received such severe injuries, that he survived them scarcely an hour. No death, during many years, created a larger circle of mourners, for he was highly esteemed, and by many beloved, for the rare qualities he combined, and for the good he did to all who came within the sphere of his influence. Never, perhaps, was there a man more widely benevolent, nor one whose character was more truly blameless. In his death England lost one of its staunchest patriots, philanthropy a consistent champion, and the Anglo-Jewish Community its most distinguished representative. Although there is little reason to suppose that such a man will readily drop

out of the public recollection, a brief record of the work he performed, if it serve no other purpose, will at least recall to the admiration of those that knew him, some passages of his eminently useful life.

Francis Henry, second son of Isaac Lyon and Isabel Goldsmid, was born in Spital Square, in the East of London, May 1, 1808. The Goldsmid, or Goldschmidt family, had long been settled in Cassel, a town on the Fulda. They suffered severely from the disastrous Seven Years' War, which stripped them of a considerable part of their fortune, and induced them to leave their country. Immediately after the Peace of Paris, and the consequent termination of the war, Aaron Goldsmid removed with his family to England, and established himself in London as a merchant in the year 1763.

Two of his sons, Benjamin and Abraham, rose to fortune and distinction as capitalists, and they were exclusively employed by Mr. Pitt, during the whole period of his administration, for contracting loans for the British Government to maintain the costly war against France. The wealth acquired by these brothers was devoted, in a very large measure, to works of benevolence without distinction of race or creed. The pictures of the brothers Cheeryble, which Dickens has painted in one of his novels, do not bring out the features of sympathy and kindness in greater prominence than they were displayed in the everyday life of the brothers Goldsmid. Their munificent

charities, combined with their well-trying patriotism, of which England witnessed striking instances in the time of its need, tended to lift them out of the narrow circle to which prejudice and intolerance then confined the Jewish community, and to create for them a distinguished social position. Amongst the eminent persons whom Abraham Goldsmid frequently entertained, were the Prince Regent, afterwards George the Fourth, the Duke of Sussex, Lord Nelson, and others. On one occasion his mansion at Morden was honoured by a visit from King George the Third, who stayed to take luncheon with his host, whom His Majesty called his 'good friend, Abraham, the Jew.'

Asher, second son of Abraham Goldsmid, entered into partnership with Mr. Jacob Mocatta, of the firm of Mocatta and Goldsmid, Bullion Brokers to the Bank of England, established by Mr. Lumbrozo de Mocatta in 1694, and which still exists. He married Miss Keyser, by whom he had a numerous family. The three elder children died in early infancy, and in 1778 there was born to him a fourth child, whom Mr. Goldsmid was induced to name 'Isaac' at the request of a learned Rabbi, an inmate of the house. 'I have,' said the good Rabbi, 'a presentiment that this boy will live and ripen into manhood, and that the Great Disposer of events will suffer him to accomplish for your descendants the same blessing that was promised to the Patriarch

Abraham, "Through Isaac shall thy seed be renowned."

Isaac Lyon Goldsmid received an education as sound and liberal as could be bestowed at that time on a youth who, by reason of his religion, was excluded from the National Universities. Gifted with rare mental powers, he mastered the school curriculum and acquired scholarly tastes and habits, which he retained throughout life. In 1804, he married his cousin Isabel, daughter of Abraham Goldsmid, and began his active career as a partner in the house of Mocatta and Goldsmid. He also entered as a Member of the Stock Exchange, for the business of which he was singularly adapted by his prudence and intelligence, his foresight and his natural quickness. At a later period he became a capitalist, and engaged in transactions of considerable magnitude; and as his success was rapid and brilliant, he was enabled to build up again the fortunes of his house, which had been greatly impaired in 1812 by the tragical death of Abraham Goldsmid.

Mr. Isaac Lyon Goldsmid, though deeply immersed in financial affairs, was very far from being wholly engrossed in the accumulation of wealth. He took a lively interest in all the progressive movements which distinguished the first quarter of the present century. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, into which no Jew had been previously received, and he was a patron, as well as a

member, of several other learned and scientific institutions. His sympathy, his labour, and his purse were freely devoted to the promotion of Lancasterian schools, and to the benevolent schemes identified with the names of Clarkson, Wilberforce, Brougham, Zachariah Macaulay, and Mrs. Fry; and he assisted materially in bringing to bear many a commercial project, such as the Continental Gas Company and the London Docks, as well as other works of public usefulness. Whilst adhering steadfastly to the religion of Moses, and scrupulously observing its ritual precepts, he was widely tolerant, and never suffered conscientious differences of belief to stand in the way of personal friendship or social intercourse, nor to intercept the free action of his benevolence.

He did not always find the same exemption from sectarian prejudice and intolerance in others, not even in those that sought his help. One instance of the kind was so remarkable as not to be unworthy of record. A dignitary in the diocese of Chichester, where Mr. Goldsmid held a large property, applied to him to purchase a piece of land for the building of a church. Mr. Goldsmid declined to sell the land, but freely offered it as a gift for a purpose so sacred. The gift was accepted; but after a time, another application came from the same quarter for an extension of the grant, in order to increase the size of the edifice. Mr. Goldsmid regretted his inability to comply with the second request, as there were also on

his estate Dissenters of different denominations, for whose places of worship he felt it his duty as a landlord to grant building plots. This reply was met by a strong remonstrance from the said dignitary, who 'earnestly hoped that Mr. Goldsmid would not think of encouraging Dissenters on his estate.'

The chief object of his care was the thorough education of his sons and daughters, and their mental training was of a high order, superior by far to that of any other Anglo-Jewish family at that time. The Jews, as a body, were in no way indifferent to the advantages of intellectual culture; but why, said they, should we educate talents which must needs rust from want of a field for their exercise? Not only were they excluded by the operation of penal laws from every representative office and place of public trust, but they could neither practise as barristers or notaries, act as schoolmasters, nor even serve the office of common constable, save by the farce of an Annual Bill of Indemnity. Under such circumstances, parents gave their sons the bare education required for the purpose of trade, within the narrow compass of which oppressive legislation had cramped their capabilities and energies.

The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were not barren of progress. They had wrought for the country in general many social improvements, but for the Jews they had effected nothing. The Jews at the opening of the nineteenth century remained, with one

or two exceptions, in the same state of social decrepitude as in 1655, when they had ventured to put foot again in England. Victims still of old prejudice and social distrust, they were left to their own resources, and confined to the exclusive sympathies of their own race. Their return to the land, from which they had been banished since 1290, was connived at rather than freely and openly granted. They came, as Graetz remarks, '*nicht durch das grosse Portal, sondern durch eine Hinterthür.*' The City merchants frowned on them with jealousy and malevolence; their religious creed was held as a kind of misdemeanour by the bulk of the population, and the whole of the clergy consigned them to a moral and social quarantine. Petitions poured in from time to time to the Government to expel them on the ground that they had no legal sanction for their settlement in the country; and although such petitions were disregarded by those in power, the Jews were nevertheless made acutely to feel that if England gave them for the time being an abiding place, it was very far from affording them a home. It was no uncommon thing to arrest their merchants on the Royal Exchange, and to charge them under the statute of the 23rd of Elizabeth, as 'Relapsed Popish Recusants.'

In 1723 they were for the first time formally recognised by Parliament, which passed an Act enabling them to take the Oath of Abjuration without the words, 'On the true faith of a Christian.' This con-

cession, which seemed to indicate a softening of prejudice, encouraged them some years later to memorialise the Government to promote a Bill for their naturalisation. The reasonableness of the request was at once recognised, and a Bill to that effect was carried through Parliament. But during the recess it encountered such a storm of indignant protest that the Government moved and obtained its repeal in the following session.

No perceptible change in the public sentiment had manifested itself during the boyhood of Francis Goldsmid. A rough husk of bigotry still adhered to the bulk of the English nation, and the bent of its spirit was towards intolerance. Mr. Isaac Goldsmid, however, did not despair of a bright future for his community, even at a time when to hope for it might have seemed the height of extravagance.¹ He believed in the ultimate triumph of reason and justice, and he was well convinced that the amelioration of the anomalous condition of his co-religionists was capable of being accomplished by direct and practical means. If the question of the pains and penalties under which the Jews laboured, from mere accident—since they had been imposed by the legislature to affect a totally different class of persons—could be fairly brought for discussion in Parliament,

¹ He was meditating the question of emancipating the Jews from their disabilities as early as the year 1823, when David Ricardo made a powerful speech in the House of Commons in favour of Religious Liberty.

and propagated through the medium of the Press, so as to take hold of public opinion, it would be scarcely possible, thought Mr. Goldsmid, to defend and to maintain permanently grievances so obviously accidental. But he forbore to take any active step in the matter so long as the large bodies of Protestant Dissenters and Roman Catholics continued to be deprived, on the sole grounds of theological differences, of some of the most valued of their civil rights. But significant signs were abroad of approaching relief for these numerous sectaries. The Test and Corporations Acts were gradually relaxing their hold on Parliamentary majorities ; and as early as the year 1812 Mr. Canning had succeeded in pledging the House of Commons, by a majority of 235 to 106 votes, to a Resolution to take into its consideration early in the next session the claims of the Roman Catholics. The emancipation of the Protestant Dissenters and of the Romanists being therefore merely a question of time, and ultimately certain, Mr. Goldsmid was hopeful that a collision of events might strike out something for the advantage of the Jews, whose turn would and must come.

Meanwhile Francis Goldsmid was receiving a superior education qualifying him for a sphere of future public usefulness. At a very early age he began to study classics and mathematics under Mr. Shergold, an able tutor, with whom the whole of his mornings were spent, and his afternoons were devoted

chiefly to political economy and the cultivation of Hebrew and modern languages, in all of which branches of study he showed proficiency. He was diligent and patient, and worked hard and with a good will. His only relaxation was riding, which he acquired under the training of M. Mathieu, a French gentleman, who had been in the service of Jerome Buonaparte, King of Westphalia, as grand master of the stud, and he rarely passed a day, except Saturdays and the Jewish Festivals, without taking this exercise. During a long and depressing illness, and when every other species of pastime and amusement had lost for him its attraction, his interest in his stables and horses increased rather than abated, and he seldom missed an opportunity of following the hounds.

His second classical tutor was the eminent scholar, Charles Taylor, who had been educated with Lord Byron under Dr. Drury. On Mr. Taylor's appointment to a post of eminence in Guernsey, Francis Goldsmid had the good fortune to secure the services of the Rev. Dr. Fellowes, one of the fullest scholars of Cambridge, who combined with his versatile acquirements the breeding and the manners of an accomplished gentleman, and completely won the esteem and the friendship of his pupil. Dr. Fellowes was honourably distinguished for having, on a point of conscientious doubt about the Divinity of the Founder of Christianity, resigned his valuable living at St.

Bride's, Fleet Street. He divided his time between Francis Goldsmid and a retired Baron of the Exchequer, who betook himself in old age to the classical studies of his youth. Such was the esteem and consideration in which the Baron held Dr. Fellowes that, dying without issue or close family connection, he bequeathed to him the whole of his estates, as well as his personal effects, amounting to 90,000*l.* Though released from the necessity of teaching, by reason of the splendid fortune into which he had come so unexpectedly, Dr. Fellowes continued to read with Francis Goldsmid until the latter had completed his eighteenth year.

His time profitably spent under the ablest of tutors, Francis Goldsmid became a ripe scholar, combining with a store of varied knowledge the gift of a tenacious memory. In him were already apparent the germs of an appreciative mind and of a sound judgment, and his taste was as correct as it was delicate. He had a high sense of the sublime and beautiful, whether in the objects of nature, literature, fine art, or in things that comewithin the domain of moral heroism; and few enjoyed more than he an outburst of genuine wit and humour. The grasp of his understanding was comprehensive, and his judgment was so calm that he could always be relied on as a safe counsellor. He was benevolent and sympathetic and tolerant to such a degree that if he had not been known to have an ingrained reverence for his

ancestral faith, he might have been mistaken for one altogether indifferent to the doctrine of a Divine revelation. His great simplicity of character displayed itself in affability to all without distinction, and in the avoidance of everything like assumption. He could impart clearness to every subject by his pen or speech ; but he excelled less as a speaker than as a writer. His speeches at the Bar and in Parliament are noteworthy for their matter and for the full knowledge they display of the questions to which they refer ; but they do not rise to the dignity of eloquence. In his writings, however, no less in his ordinary correspondence than in his published works, he comes forth as a master of English composition. His style is clear and lucid, aiming at correctness rather than effect. Yet such are his delicacy and choice of expression that every word seems to fall into its right place, and it would not be an easy thing to vary a single paragraph which he has penned without impairing its efficacy and its force. He was an ardent admirer of genuine poetry, and oftentimes, when, strongly impressed with a passing event, he ventured to woo the muse, she proved to him anything but unpropitious. Some of his fugitive lines, which have been preserved, are distinguished by playfulness and spirit.

He did not possess that characteristic flash of quickness which enabled his father to take in, as if by some intuition, the full bearing and import of a

question or a document at the first rapid glance. But he had in an eminent degree the faculty of seizing on the essential facts of every subject offered to his judgment, and of disembarassing it of all irrelevant matter. He thought maturely before committing himself to action, and having once determined on the correctness of a given course, he pursued it with a resolute and unflinching purpose. His intellectual honesty was like an adamantine rock, which nothing could shake.

Left free to choose his walk in life, he selected the profession of the Law, although it was by no means certain that the Benchers would admit to the Bar a member of the Hebrew persuasion without requiring him to subscribe an oath at the asseveration of which his conscience might rebel.¹ Having determined, if admitted, to practise in the Court of Chancery, from which his absence on Saturdays would matter less than in the Common Law Courts, he placed himself under Mr. Humphries, of Lincoln's Inn, an eminent Real Property Lawyer, and continued to read with him and to work under his guidance until that

¹ In consequence of some doubt having been expressed during the debate in Parliament in 1828, whether anyone taking the oath of abjuration could omit the asseveratory words 'on the true faith of a Christian,' Mr. Isaac Goldsmid addressed the Duke of Wellington to sanction a proposition about to be framed and submitted to Parliament solely for the purpose of allowing the Jews to act as barristers, and to retain their privilege of voting at elections for Members of Parliament. The Duke of Wellington declined to sanction such a proposition being introduced, on the plea that the session was too far advanced.

gentleman's death. During the long sickness that preceded it, a considerable portion of the office business fell on Francis Goldsmid, and afforded him the means of acquiring an extensive professional experience. After Mr. Humphries' death, he entered the Chambers of Mr. James Wigram, one of the leading Equity draughtsmen of the time, and afterwards Vice-Chancellor.

On the completion of his term of chamber probation, Francis Goldsmid offered himself for admission into Lincoln's Inn ; but the Benchers took time for consideration, as no Jew had hitherto been called to the English bar. Long and frequent debates were held, first whether, under the existing statutes, a member of the Hebrew profession could be admitted to the bar, and secondly, if admitted, by what particular oath he should be sworn, and with what formalities it should be tendered. It appeared that there was a form of oath available for the purpose, which a Jew might take without conscientious scruple ; but a curious incident occurred about the particular book on which Francis Goldsmid was to be sworn. Sir Launcelot Shadwell, the Senior Bencher, was given to whims and crotchets, which advanced age did not tend to lessen. He was possessed with the strange fancy that of all the editions of the Hebrew Scriptures, the 'Mikraoth Gedoloth,' a bulky folio, was the only one that was genuine ; and as Sir Launcelot possessed a copy of it, he insisted that on that

volume, and on none other, Francis Goldsmid should take the oath. The Benchers assented with a smile to the caprice of their senior. A porter was sent off to Sir Launcelot's library, and returned with the monster folio, on which Francis Goldsmid was sworn according to the custom of the Synagogue; and in the month of January, 1833, a gentleman of the Jewish faith was for the first time called to the English bar.

CHAPTER II.

OTHER important events calculated to exercise influence on the social and intellectual condition of the Jews had meanwhile occurred, the most noteworthy of which was the foundation in London of an Undenominational College. Mr. Isaac Goldsmid had long felt it a grievance that the Jews were deprived of an academical education, and deeply regretted that he saw no proximate means of remedying the evil. Talking the matter over at dinner one day with the poet Thomas Campbell, the latter started the idea of founding a University, apart from everything appertaining to theology, so that no religious test whatever might be imposed on the students. Mr. Goldsmid seized on the suggestion with delight, and, having secured promises of support from Brougham, Hume, Warburton, and other notabilities and friends of liberal education, he exerted himself strenuously to promote the scheme, and in 1825 he took a prominent part in the establishment, as he did in after years in the management, of University College. It was founded

in 1826, and opened in October, 1828, under the title of 'The University of London,' and it was subsequently incorporated by Royal Charter as 'University College, London.' The merits and the usefulness of this institution are now evident to all. It has exercised an appreciable influence on the progress of education, and to it may clearly be traced the origin of those larger views and wider sympathies which have since happily found a home in other academical establishments. Whilst University College has paved the way for the admission of all classes of Dissenters to nearly every right and privilege in the old Universities, it has conferred priceless benefits on the upper and middle classes of Jews; and for this boon alone the Hebrew community of Great Britain owe a lasting debt of gratitude to Isaac Lyon Goldsmid and his son. Before University College came into existence, no career was open to able and aspiring Jews but that of commerce; and the mental superiority which they have displayed ever since a fair field has been afforded them, excites an acute feeling of regret that many a powerful intellect amongst them must have been suffered to stagnate during ages of exclusiveness from want of opportunities for cultivation.

Another event that raised the hopes of the Jews, and led them to conclude that an abiding reaction had set in against intolerance, was the success which the motion for the abrogation of the Tests Acts

obtained in the House of Commons. In 1828 Lord John Russell, though opposed by Sir Robert Peel and the whole of the Government phalanx, carried through all its stages, in the lower House of Parliament, a Bill for the repeal of the Tests and Corporations Acts, by which, so far as their operation had not been nullified by the Annual Indemnity Act, Dissenters had been deprived of offices under the Crown and in municipal corporations. Francis Goldsmid and his father rejoiced at the result, not only on account of the tardy justice it dealt out to thousands of British citizens, but also because it gave an indication that the tide of intolerance was turning, and that a more humane and liberal legislation would henceforth prevail. But their hopes were damped when the Bill reached the House of Lords, where it was met by a proposal from the episcopal bench, which the Government supported, to make the words, 'On the true faith of a Christian,' part of the declaration required on the acceptance of office. In this most objectionable form the Bill passed through Parliament, notwithstanding the strenuous exertions of Mr. Isaac Goldsmid, who enlisted in opposition to the clause the Duke of Sussex, Lord Holland, and several other Liberal peers. It was a question whether the Bill should fail altogether, or pass with its obnoxious clause, and as it affected the relief of the whole body of Protestant Dissenters, Mr. Goldsmid and his son Francis induced their friends to

withdraw their opposition rather than peril the passing of a measure touching the interests of thousands of their fellow countrymen.

Great self-denial was displayed on that occasion by the Goldsmids, because the form in which the Bill for the repeal of Tests and Corporations passed left the Jews worse off than they had been before. Whilst it removed the Sacramental Test, it established in its place a declaration which every Protestant Dissenter could take, but which the Jew *could not* in conscience subscribe. By the passing of the measure of 1828 the Annual Indemnity Act became a nullity; and in lieu of a test which was dispensed with from year to year, another test was introduced that was not to be dispensed with, to which all Dissenters could submit, except the Hebrews, who were thus exceptionally disqualified in a direct and positive manner. Lord Holland¹ was painfully sensitive of the wrong that had thus been gratuitously inflicted on the Hebrew Community, and he publicly declared that he felt his having been obliged for the sake of the Protestant Dissenters to yield to the insertion of a clause so injurious to the Jews, as an additional reason for exerting himself to get them relieved from the evil it had occasioned.

Still the evil was not altogether unmixed with good, for the repeal of the Tests Acts, the obnoxious clause notwithstanding, furnished something like

¹ See his Protest entered on the Journals of the House of Lords.

présumptive evidence that imperial legislation had taken a course from which it could not well turn back ; whilst it held out a faint hope that even the cloud hanging over the Jews might after a while disperse and afford them the opportunity of striking out into new fields. This hope was encouraged by the event which marked the year 1829 in the history of liberal legislation. For more than a quarter of a century the two leading men of the existing cabinet, the Duke of Wellington and Mr. Peel, had passionately and persistently opposed the claims of the Roman Catholics, on the ground that their admission into Parliament would prove injurious, if not absolutely fatal, to the established religion of the land. But the force of political circumstances compelled these stout opponents to shift their ground and to carry through Parliament, not without bitter opposition in the Upper House, a full and complete measure for relieving the Roman Catholics from their civil disabilities.

CHAPTER III.

IT was a crisis in the affairs of religious liberty ; and no sooner had the Bill received the Royal assent, on which doubt lingered in some quarters, on account of scruples said to be entertained by the King about the Coronation Oath, than it was felt by Mr. Isaac Goldsmid and his son that the time had now come for the Jews to bestir themselves, and to take active steps for the accomplishment of their own emancipation. Hitherto Mr. Isaac Goldsmid had worked alone, privately and unobtrusively, for the amelioration of the social and political condition of his community ; but from this date he was efficiently aided by his son Francis. The Emancipation Question filled up the measure of their thought, and side by side they laboured for its accomplishment during a long series of years ; the father through the exertion of his wide social influence and personal canvass, the son through the agency of his powerful pen.

As yet, the Jews as a body had not stirred in the matter, nor had they given any indications that they

valued and desired the removal of the disabilities which were felt by some of the community to be so galling and oppressive. It was for them now to take the initiative step, and to demonstrate, in a way which should leave no doubt, that the desire to be placed on a footing of political equality with the rest of British citizens was not confined to a few members only, but was shared by the Jews in common. It was quite clear that they could not force their claims on Parliament as other unenfranchised sectaries had done by agitation, and by the display of numbers. During nearly half a century, the Protestant Dissenters had kept up for the repeal of the Tests and Corporation Acts an organised agitation, which found a telling auxiliary in their numerical strength. The Roman Catholics also had suffered no interval to elapse since the Act of Union in 1801, without clamouring for their rights, and intimating that fatal consequences might attend any long postponement of them. It was not, in fact, until the movement in Ireland had assumed the proportions of a rebellion, and that a civil war was apprehended, that the Roman Catholics wrung from an unwilling Government the Act of Emancipation, which it would never have granted them as a boon. If the Jews, however, should succeed in obtaining relief from their disabilities, it would only be by the force of public opinion, influenced by a sense of moral right. In 1830, their numbers were insignificant, barely amounting

to 28,000 souls in the whole of the United Kingdom ; and even if they had been disposed to depart from their peaceful and law-abiding conduct, they could have inspired no possible alarm, though their claims to equality of rights were to be permanently and contemptuously rejected. Ever since the year 1753, when the popular ill-will set in so powerfully against them, they had lived in a kind of seclusion, without mixing, except for purposes of commerce, with any but members of their own faith. They were very timid about committing themselves to a course that might produce sectarian strife, and arouse once more a spirit of rancour like that of which they had heard their fathers tell and lament.

Nor were these the only difficulties with which Mr. Goldsmid and his son had to contend in their efforts to arouse their community into action. The Jews were divided amongst themselves with respect to the measure of relief for which they should petition Parliament. Some who were engaged in retail trade desired nothing more than to be qualified to become free of the City ; others sought only the concession of the elective franchise, without their being subjected, at the caprice of the returning officer, to the imposition of the *Bribery Oath*, which contained words that grated on their consciences. Many were of opinion that to put forth claims which involved the right to sit in Parliament was to advance untenable pretensions and to furnish a pretext for non-compliance

with more moderate demands. But the chief obstacle lay with those who entertained serious apprehensions that if able and aspiring members of the community found open to them the high road to ambition, they might insensibly be led, in their eagerness of its pursuit, to weaken their hold on the Synagogue and ultimately to abandon their ancestral faith. But these and many minor difficulties were surmounted by calm reason, tact, and good temper; and before the close of 1830 Mr. Isaac Goldsmid had succeeded in so far overcoming the opposition of some, and the reluctance of others, as to call into life a communal organisation for promoting a measure for the removal of every civil disability that affected the Jews. An Association was formed, and a Committee was appointed, with powers that rendered it arbiter of its own action, and set it free from every control that might cause it embarrassment. It had the good fortune to possess in its honorary secretary, Dr. Barnard Van Oven, an able and indefatigable worker, fluent in speech and ready with pen, who, of the whole Jewish body, was the only one that gave efficient aid to Isaac and Francis Goldsmid during the earlier stages of the emancipation struggle.

Whilst Mr. Isaac Goldsmid was bestirring himself amongst the members of his Community and arousing them from their inertness to a sense of the civil franchises which are the birthright of Englishmen, Francis Goldsmid was pleading the cause with his

pen and appealing to the intelligence and to the humane sympathies of his Christian fellow countrymen. In 1828 he made the first attempt to ventilate the question of the removal of the disabilities of the Jews through the press. He published a pamphlet, which restricted itself to a brief statement of the civil privations under which the Jews laboured, and—to employ his own words—‘he committed the removal of them to the spontaneous bounty of the Christian part of the community.’

The pamphlet met a cordial reception from most of the Liberal newspapers throughout the kingdom, as well as from the periodicals. But it encountered a virulent, not to say a coarse, opposition from the exponents of Toryism, who assailed the Jews and the advocates of their emancipation with shameless vituperation and with frantic appeals to religious prejudice. The objections raised against the removal of their disabilities were legion. They were aliens, excluded from the protection of the Toleration Act, passed in the first year of William and Mary, and incapable of holding land; they were disqualified to discharge the full privileges of citizens, and inasmuch as they had always been employed in trade and money-getting, they were unfit for higher occupations, being strangers to liberal pursuits and devoid of culture: the restrictions put on the Jews were essential to the maintenance of the national Christianity; their admission into Parliament and to posts

of distinction might lead to an organised propagation of their faith and the judaising of the Christian people; and finally, the Jews themselves as a body, looking on Palestine, and not on England, as their country, were not only indifferent to their emancipation, but strongly opposed to it.

In 1830, Francis Goldsmid made a second and a powerful appeal to the Christian public in a work entitled 'Remarks on the Civil Disabilities of the Jews,'¹ which covers the whole ground of the question, and displays all the earnestness of an advocate and the consummate tact of a diplomatist.

'Wherever,' says he, 'the question of removing the disabilities under which the Jews now labour has been mooted, the friendly disposition evinced towards the measure has seemed so general among persons of all religious denominations, that it was intended to have left its accomplishment to the spontaneous bounty of the Christian part of the community.' . . . 'But the Jews find that this silence is misconstrued, that the demeanour is ascribed to apathy in the cause of religious liberty, which has been dictated by sentiments of a very different nature. They feel, therefore, that they are compelled to depart from the course which they

¹ It produced a deep impression on liberal-minded Christians, and called forth letters of high commendation, which are still preserved, from Lord Denman, Dean Milman, the Marquis of Lansdowne, Lord Wynford, the Earl of Auckland, the Bishop of Norwich, and several other persons of eminence.

intended to pursue, to protest against such interpretations of their conduct, and to enter at once upon an examination of the change which they desire. And in this examination, enough surely will have been done, if it be shown, first, that the welfare of the Jews will be promoted; and, secondly, that the interest of the country will be, in some respects, perhaps advanced, and certainly in no possible way prejudiced, by properly directing the energies of that long-neglected race.'

After setting forth the actual legal situation of the Jews in England, and exposing the error into which Mr. Peel had led the public with respect to the condition of the Jews, when, in his speech on the Catholic Relief Bill, he said (after proposing to exclude Roman Catholics from the offices of Prime Minister, Lord Chancellor, and Lord Lieutenant), 'With these single exceptions by name, I propose to leave all offices free to all denominations of His Majesty's subjects'—Francis Goldsmid proceeds to consider all the test and exclusionist acts passed since the time of Charles the Second, and how by accident, and not by the design of the legislature which enacted them, they are brought to bear on the Jews.

He conclusively shows that no grounds exist for considering the Jews as aliens, even as a legal fiction. 'It is superfluous to remark,' he says, 'how strangely the opinion that such men are *aliens* con-

tradicts the usual sense of that word ; how singular an anomaly in law would be presented by such a doctrine.' In answer to the charges that the Jews are employed in trade and money-getting, that their minds are devoid of cultivation, and that they are strangers to liberal pursuits, he says: 'To the first article of the charge, indeed, the Jewish community must doubtless plead unqualifiedly guilty. In trade the Jews have for ages past been almost exclusively employed. I am not, it is true, quite clear that this is a very heinous crime, and I am sure, at all events, that England is not the country in which it ought to be so accounted. But if it is a crime, the Jews are guilty. They have been prevented by the laws, and in some cases by the persecutions, of Christian Europe, from obtaining power, and not rarely even bread, by other means, and they have obtained them by trade. The man who, as in Russia, may be driven from the country which he inhabits at the will of its sovereign, cannot be a cultivator. The man who, as in England, is unable to sit in Parliament, or to accept an office under government, without submitting to a test inconsistent with his tenets, can neither be a legislator nor a servant of the State. In fine, you prevent the Jew from gaining subsistence unless by trade, or influence unless by acquiring wealth, and express surprise at his devoting himself to the acquisition of it with more zeal than other men, and consequently often with more success. You

deprive our energies of almost all other objects, and are yet astonished that they should be directed strenuously towards this. You might as well turn six brooks into the channel of one, and then wonder how it happened that the united current exceeded, in its depth and its strength, each separate streamlet.

‘The latter part of the accusation against the Jews, which charges them with deficiency in mental cultivation, is of a more serious nature yet of this also I must, I fear, admit the partial truth: whilst I at the same time maintain that this also is the result of the disabling laws, as of the prejudices which have constantly prevailed against men of that religion. . . . Here they were objects of jealousy and contempt; they were necessarily shut out from places of public instruction; and lastly, the disabling statutes closed before them the paths which lead to all the higher functions of citizenship. The dislike which existed against them, entirely prevented them from mixing with their more fortunate neighbours, and thus deprived them of the most efficacious means of enlarging ideas and developing intellect—intercourse with various classes of men. Their exclusion from places of public instruction rendered it more difficult for them, than it is for others, to obtain superior education. Their exclusion from the careers to success, in which superior education is most essential, removes from them the strongest motives for struggling with those difficulties; whilst all these causes com-

bined to inspire every individual exposed to their action with a depressing sense of degradation, which he would strive in vain to shake off, and to *cow* the spirit of the whole community. Under circumstances such as these, it would not have been rational to anticipate that the day would soon arrive when the Hebrews should deserve the character of a well-informed and intelligent body of men.

‘That the morning of that day is come at length, those who are best acquainted with them will not, I hope, be inclined to deny. Prejudice against our race has diminished, and this diminution has contributed towards our improvement, by which it has in its turn been accelerated. If the result had been different—if the Jews had effected as much, in spite of obstacles and disadvantages, as others have effected when placed in favourable circumstances, I should indeed have ascribed the fact to some fortunate, though unaccountable peculiarity possessed by them; but I should have felt at the same time that one of the many arguments against exclusive regulations was, in this instance, wanting. As it is we find that these, co-operating with other causes, have produced, in some measure, the effects that might have been expected from them; but to infer from this that they ought to be continued is merely to say, in other words, that the evil which they have occasioned is the best of all possible reasons for preserving them inviolate.’

With respect to the fear felt, or pretended to be felt,

about the Jews taking advantage of their improved political and social condition to proselytise persons born in the Christian faith, he says : ‘ No Christian needs apprehend that he will diminish by a single individual the number of adherents to his faith, if he promote communication between them and the followers of the Law of Moses. Alarms of this description can scarcely, under any circumstances, be felt by a man thoroughly convinced that the correctness of his belief is clear and indisputable. But their existence is, I imagine, rendered impossible by the fact that the Jews never attempt to make a single convert. Nor is this line of conduct adopted from prudential motives ; it is recommended by their religious opinions. The Jews have no idea that it is incumbent on the whole human race to observe the ordinances of their inspired legislator ; they conceive that this is *required* only of him whom birth has placed amongst the sons of Israel ; and they hold that the stranger who declares himself a member of their community, undertakes voluntarily, and perhaps somewhat presumptuously, a burthensome duty, of which the strict fulfilment is indeed meritorious, but the neglect thenceforward criminal. Their notions on this head are in fact forcibly, though perhaps rather strangely, expressed in a saying of the Rabbins : “ He who is not born in the law, needs not bind himself to perform the law ; but he who is born in the law

must live in the law, and in the law he must die.”¹ These precepts certainly inculcate that adherence to belief for which the Jews are remarkable, but they can never produce a zeal for making proselytes.’

He does not ignore the fact of the indifference, not to say averseness, of a few of his co-religionists to emancipation ; and whilst he admits their apathy to be based on conscientious fears, he effectually exposes their weakness.

‘It must be admitted that there *is* a certain small number of Jews, who regard our application for relief not only with indifference, but even with doubt and distrust, because they imagine that its success is likely to promote amongst those who now adhere to Judaism, a falling off from the faith of their ancestors. These persons maintain that the religious feelings of men arm them sufficiently against fear of the privations which restrictive laws impose, but that there is no such defence against the slow undermining progress of kindness and affection. To me, however, these ideas are erroneous. The same reasons which should induce the pious Christian to desire, should also prevent the Jew from fearing, an equalisation of civil rights. Each is convinced that his opinions are correct, and each *ought* therefore to be convinced that their influence cannot be diminished by the extension of friendly intercourse. Nor have I the smallest doubt that an overwhelming majority of

¹ Cited by Moses Mendelssohn in his *Jerusalem*.

the Jews wholly concur, as well in these views, as in an anxious desire for such a measure as has here been advocated, and that these grievances have only been hitherto endured in silence, because redress was not hoped for.¹ To say much, however, on the question is unnecessary. It is one of fact, rather than of argument, and I am confident that whenever the proper period for calling the attention of Parliament to the subject under consideration, which now fast approaches, shall arrive, the conduct of the Jews will prove to the satisfaction of the most sceptical (what indeed it does seem rather strange to question) the general nature of their views and feelings and wishes, with regard to the removal of their own disabilities.'²

To those who maintained that it was hardly worth while to make a change in the law for a body of persons so inconsiderable as the Jews, Francis Goldsmid replied: 'In instances like this, the quantity of suffering inflicted on each individual increases as the number of sufferers grows less. Every member of a large community, though degraded by law, enjoys at least whatever comfort he can derive from the sympathy of many brothers in misfortune. But whither shall the Jew look for consolation? Among the thousands of his countrymen he will see that

¹ So long as relief to the Roman Catholics was withheld.

² *Remarks on the Civil Disabilities of the Jews*, pp. 33-4.

he alone is marked with the badge of dishonour ; that all others are free to follow those paths of creditable ambition which against *him alone* are closed—I trust I need not say—*for ever.*'¹

¹ *Remarks on the Civil Disabilities of the Jews*, pp. 38, 39

CHAPTER IV

DURING the winter of 1829–30, Francis Goldsmid and his father laboured incessantly to secure a fair amount of support for the Bill for the removal of the civil disabilities of the Jews, which was, if possible, to be introduced into Parliament in the following spring. Ample evidence of their absorbing devotion to the cause may be found in two large volumes, in possession of the family, containing correspondence with Lord Holland, the Marquis of Lansdowne, the Duke of Wellington, Earl Grey, Sir R. Peel, Lord Melbourne, and many other distinguished members of both Houses of Parliament. Lord Lyndhurst, who then occupied the woolsack, wished it to be made known to Mr. Goldsmid, that although he would be bound by his official position to vote with the Government on the measure, he was favourable to the emancipation of the Jews, and would privately use his personal interest to promote its accomplishment. This intelligence was sufficiently encouraging to justify an appeal to the legislature, and Mr. Charles

Grant (afterwards Lord Glenelg), as well as other private members, offered to take charge of the Bill. But when the time for action came, Mr. Charles Grant, for various reasons, shrank from the task. An admirable substitute, however, was found in Mr. Robert, afterwards Sir Robert Grant, and into no better hands could the introduction of the measure have possibly fallen. Possessed of distinguished abilities, of extensive information, and dignified eloquence, he was at the same time known to be so deeply impressed with Christian sentiment, that his liberality could hardly be mistaken for religious indifference.

The Government had given no hint of its intended course with respect to the Bill. Whilst some were of opinion that it would be regarded by them as the natural corollary to the legislation of 1828 and 1829, others held that the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel would endeavour, by their opposition to the measure, to win back some of the ground they had lost with the high Tory party by reason of the recent concessions to the Roman Catholics. The result proved the latter opinion to be correct ; but in spite of the opposition of the Government, the Bill introduced by Mr. Robert Grant, April 5, 1830, passed a first reading by a small majority. At its next stage, the Government used greater exertions, and on the motion for its second reading, the Bill was thrown out by 260 votes to 180.

The result was disappointing, but by no means crushing. It was some gain to have had the question of the anomalous position of the Jews brought under parliamentary discussion, and a greater gain still that the grounds on which their enfranchisement was opposed were such as would sooner or later fail before the ripening intelligence of the British public. Neither Francis Goldsmid nor his father lost heart; their confidence in ultimate success was unabated, for they knew well that religious prejudice dies hard, and that it is not after one assault or two that intolerance yields up its last stronghold. The defeat of the measure was followed by a lively series of letters from Francis Goldsmid, dealing with the reasons advanced against it in the debate, and proving them to be inconsistent with fact and unwarranted by argument. He professes himself at a loss to understand the precise signification of the maxim that 'Christianity is part and parcel of the law of the land.' 'Does it mean that the law should protect none but Christians? The experience of every day rebuts this interpretation. Or does it mean that none but Christians ought to be held capable of political privilege? This would be a mere arbitrary exposition, adopted to suit the present purpose. Or lastly, does it mean that the law ought to prevent, as far as it is possible that it should prevent, everything injurious to the Christian religion? This, surely, is the only rational construction; and if this

construction prevail, I am content that Mr. Grant's Bill should pass, or be rejected, as it may be found consistent or inconsistent with this maxim. There is nothing in the Jewish religion repugnant to Christianity, for the Christian believes all that the Jew believes, only more; and the Jew never interferes with, or speaks against any other religion, but merely follows his own.'

In 1831 he returns to the charge, commenting on the Government's exchange of 'its early indifference for resolute hostility,' by reason of which the Bill was lost. 'And yet,' says he, 'severe as was the disappointment which this denial of redress occasioned to the Jews—deeply as it taught them to feel the pain of "hope deferred"—the defeat was not unattended with its consolatory circumstances. It was consoling to reflect, that of the district where persons of our faith are best known, because more than half of the Jews of the kingdom reside there—of the three divisions of the metropolis, and the five counties in which it stands—the twelve representatives, without a single exception, had voted in favour of the rejected Bill. It was consoling that the measure, though encountered by the whole weight of the Government influence, had united in its support a minority the most numerous of the session, and amongst the most distinguished for the names which it comprised. But, above all, it was matter of satisfaction that the arguments advanced by the most

able of our opponents were not such as can engage the attention or influence the resolutions of reasonable men.'

The other letters deal with the objections 'that the Jews consider themselves as a separate nation ;' 'that they are in constant expectation of their return to Palestine ;' 'that where enfranchisement has been granted them, it has been of little practical utility ;' and 'on partial enfranchisement.' In reference to the last, the writer says ; 'The Jews have of course no power to accept or reject any measure which the Legislature may be pleased to enact respecting them. But, for the reasons I have stated, I do earnestly request those who have advocated, and will again advocate, our cause in Parliament, not to yield to any imperfect concession an assent from which it might be inferred that they or that our community would be gratified, even for a moment, with any measure less complete than our perfect equalisation with other Dissenters. I request our friends, the friends of liberty of conscience, to consider, that if a portion only of the disabilities under which we labour were removed, and of which they almost equally with ourselves desire the utter abolition, it would be implied that Parliament approved those restrictions of which the abrogation was neglected, and that a change designed to strike off our fetters would but rivet more firmly those which it left us to bear.'¹

¹ Francis Goldsmid shrewdly apprehended what was likely to

These letters excited considerable interest, on account of the strict accuracy that marked every statement with which Francis Goldsmid met the objections against the emancipation of the Jews advanced during the recent debates in Parliament. They possessed also the merit of pleading a cause with which the writer's deepest feelings were intertwined, without suffering a single bitter or injurious expression to escape him, and without having any recourse whatever to vehemence or exaggeration. It was needful, above all things, to get rid of the fallacy, which touched the religious sentiment of the public, that the admission of the Jews into Parliament would unsettle the Christian character of the State; and this fallacy Francis Goldsmid so thoroughly demolished, that it was never revived during the long struggle which the measure had to maintain with an unfriendly majority in the House of Lords.

Far from being discouraged at the fate which the Emancipation Bill met on its first introduction into Parliament, the Jews would have reasserted their claims in the following session if the public attention had not been engrossed with a Reform in Parliament to the exclusion of every other political question. During three successive sessions the Reform Bill

occur. In 1833 there was a design of some members of the House of Lords to introduce a proviso into the Jews' Emancipation Bill, granting them every civil right, save that of their admission into Parliament. (See Mr. Isaac Lyon Goldsmid's letter on the subject to Lord Bexley, Appendix No. I.)

drew to itself the almost undivided attention of the Legislature. In the month of June, 1832, it received the Royal assent ; a few weeks after, Parliament was prorogued, and in the month of December it was dissolved by proclamation.

The Reformed Parliament, assembled in January, 1833, exhibited an astounding change in the respective numbers of the two political parties ; the ministerialists, or Liberals, were five hundred and eleven strong, whilst those who designated themselves Conservatives, were below a hundred and fifty. This, then, was considered an exceptionally favourable time for the Jews to bring forward again their claims, and to seek a redress of wrongs which, as Mr. Francis Goldsmid said, 'would at least afford to the Reformed Parliament an opportunity of marking the commencement of its career by an act of justice.' He lost no time in issuing an address to the new Parliament on the Enfranchisement of the British Jews, in which a complete refutation is given to every objection urged against the Emancipation Bill of 1830. He deals principally with the fear lest the interests of religion should be prejudiced, 'as if the interests of religion could ever be promoted by intolerant laws ;' and with the assertion that the Mosaic faith renders its adherents everywhere indifferent to the interests of their native land, and unfit for civil rights. In refutation of the latter charge he appends a list derived from official sources of the Jews of

France who fell gloriously in defending the national liberty against the despotic 'Ordinances' of Charles the Tenth in July, 1830; and also a testimonial of General Chassé to the bravery and the patriotism of the Jewish soldiers who fought under him in the campaign of 1832. Besides which, a roll is given of names of Jews appointed to high office in countries where civil restrictions had ceased to exist, together with copies of public documents, expressive of the national approval of the manner in which those official duties had been discharged by persons of the Hebrew persuasion.

In 1833 Mr. Robert Grant, then holding office under Lord Grey's Government, brought the Jewish question into the first Reformed House of Commons, where its introduction was assented to without a division, and its second and third readings were carried by exactly the same majority of 189 to 54. On this occasion the measure was supported by Macaulay with ardent and enthusiastic eloquence, and it was remarked that Sir Robert Peel, who in 1830 opposed the Bill at its second reading, now abstained from taking part in any of the discussions. The success which the measure met in the House of Commons, as far as relates to the number of votes recorded in its favour, was mainly owing to the exertions of Mr. Francis Goldsmid and his father. The efforts of the latter in publicly promoting the Bill and privately canvassing for its support were unceas-

ing. Night after night, he was seen in the lobby, waylaying members on their passage to or from the House; now freely obtaining, and now earnestly entreating, promises of support. On one occasion, when it was uncertain whether the Bill would come on in the House of Commons so late in the evening, a conversation between two members pledged to support it was overheard to the following effect. A: 'There is little chance of the Jews' Bill coming on at this late hour of the night: I shall go home!' B: 'I should like to do the same, but it is useless to attempt it: there's Goldsmid keeping watch in the lobby, and he'll be sure to press me to wait on the chance.'

Sir Robert Inglis, a persistent opponent of the Bill, noting the extraordinary efforts of Mr. Isaac Goldsmid to secure its success, concluded that his interest in it was wholly and exclusively personal. Sir Robert described the measure as wholly intended to bring *one* gentleman from the lobby into the House.

In the House of Peers, Lord Bexley (formerly Mr. Vansittart), a highly religious Conservative, took charge of the Bill, and it was ably supported by the mover, by Lord Chancellor Brougham, Lord Holland (then in the Ministry), Archbishop Whately, and the Bishop of Norwich. But the bulk of the Conservative party and of the episcopal bench energetically opposed it, and it was lost by a majority of

fifty. Lord Grey's Government was at that time so powerful that it succeeded in carrying in the Upper House a measure like that of the Municipal Corporations Act, to which the Tory Peers were even more averse than to the Jews' Disabilities Bill ; and there is every reason to believe that if those who then guided the councils of the country, nominally as devoted friends of civil and religious liberty, had heartily supported Lord Bexley, the Emancipation of the Jews would have become law in 1833. But from some unexplained cause Lord Grey,¹ Lord Durham, and Mr. Edward Ellice entertained a personal aversion to a measure which was in every way on a line with all their political principles.

The defeat of the Bill on that occasion, when a different result was confidently anticipated, was a great disappointment to the Jews ; but it would have been more taken to heart by them if any valid grounds had been shown for the rejection of their claims. There was nothing in the speeches of the dissentients that discovered a sequence or connection of ideas on which their opposition was based. The Committee of the Jewish Association determined to print and circulate the debates on the question, as the best evidence that could be produced as to the justice of their claims. 'We are satisfied,' said Dr. Van Oven, 'to rest our characters, as men and citizens, on the testimony which an honourable feel-

¹ See Lord Grey's letter to Mr. I. L. Goldsmid, Appendix No. II.

ing of candour has wrung from our opponents (especially the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London),¹ and we leave it to those opponents to explain why, with every qualification for the performance of all the duties of Britons, and with a full desire to take upon ourselves those duties, we should be deprived of the right of doing so by the continuance of odious and disqualifying laws ; and how (since the name of religion has been introduced into the discussion) respect can be shown for any religion by maintaining distinctions which inflict severe injury on one body of the inhabitants of this kingdom, and produce no benefit whatever to the rest.'²

Another attempt was made in 1834, as well as in 1836, to obtain for the Jews their civil rights, but without effect. It had still to encounter the deeply-rooted prejudices of a majority in the House of Lords, which did not depend on single votes, but on scores of them. Little was done in reference to the main question between 1836 and 1847, although its spirit and its life had not evaporated. Francis Goldsmid was not the man to rest content under the ban of perpetual disability. He saw that enfranchisement, though slow in its progress, would be sure in its operation ; and he was satisfied for a while to post-

¹ One speech only, that of the Earl of Winchilsea, was entirely dissonant from the whole tone of the debate in the House of Lords.

² *Introduction to the Publication of the Debates on the Jewish Civil Disabilities Bill, 1833.*

pone its attainment, in order to arrive at it with a greater assurance of certainty.

Meanwhile minor measures for the relief of the Jews were passed through Parliament. The City of London, which had inaugurated a new and more tolerant policy in 1832 by admitting Hebrews to civic freedom, elected in 1835, Mr. David Salomons as Sheriff, and soon afterwards he was chosen as Alderman. These elections led to especial legislation to enable persons of the Jewish persuasion to accept municipal office, by taking an oath without the words 'On the true faith of a Christian;' and Lord Lyndhurst brought in a Bill to that effect, which passed with little opposition through both Houses of Parliament. In 1837 Mr. Moses Montefiore was elected Sheriff of London, and, on the Queen's visit to the City, he received the honour of knighthood; and in 1841 Mr. Isaac Goldsmid was created a baronet, being the first Jew who received that title. Subsequently it was conferred on Sir Moses Montefiore, David Salomons, and Anthony de Rothschild. It was held by some that these civic honours and marks of royal favour might fairly be considered the measure of what so small a body as the Jews had a right to expect. But Francis Goldsmid was very far from sharing that opinion. He did not decry the benefit of the removal of tests that disqualified the Jew for municipal office, but in this he only recognised an approach to the outworks of the great

question. The riddance of corporate disabilities did not bring the Jews within the *penetralia* of the constitution, and he maintained that nothing short of this would content, or ought to content, their aspirations.

In the autumn of 1839 he married his cousin, Louisa Sophia, only daughter of Moses Asher Goldsmid, who survives him.

After the repeated attempts made to overcome the conflicting and inveterate prejudices of the Episcopal Bench, which offered an insurmountable obstacle to the success of the Emancipation Bill, it was determined to refrain for a while from actively prosecuting the measure, to watch the signs of the times, and to take advantage of a favourable opportunity for bringing it again before Parliament.

CHAPTER V.

FRANCIS GOLDSMID now devoted the time which he could spare from his professional engagements to the promotion of objects essential to the progress and well-being of his community. Two projects he had greatly at heart: one was to lift the Synagogue out of the spiritual decay into which past persecutions had plunged it, and to make its worship respected without as well as within; and the other was to establish an Infant School for the Jewish poor, the necessity for which had long occupied his father's thought, and stimulated his exertions.

Francis Goldsmid's strong Jewish feeling, inborn and inherited, had already moved him to deliver a religious discourse in the Synagogue of St. Alban's Place, Haymarket, under the impression that it might ultimately lead to the establishment of a regular pulpit, which had been the glory, as it was in fact the creation, of the ancient Synagogue. Little or no permanent benefit, however, arose out of this laudable effort. But in 1840 a strenuous movement was made

by some of the better educated of the laity to stamp with a higher character the Anglo-Jewish Synagogue, which had long seemed a merely servile copy of the Middle Ages. An association was formed, consisting principally of some of the leading members of the Bevis Marks congregation (*Sephardim*),¹ for the purpose of obtaining modifications in the ritual which the increments of ages had swollen into immense bulk, and for the introduction of weekly sermons in the vernacular, and other improvements. Amongst the few of the *Ashkenazim*² who joined the Association, were Francis Goldsmid, his brother Frederick, and their uncle Aaron Asher Goldsmid, all of whom rendered essential service to the cause by their earnestness and varied abilities. But the moving spirit of the Association was Francis Goldsmid, who imparted impulse and energy to all its operations. He drew up on its behalf a temperate and able memorial to the Elders of the *Sephardee* Synagogue, setting forth the glaring defects in the prevailing mode of public worship, and suggesting changes which promised to infuse into it new life and power, render it more edifying and impressive, and bring it into harmony with modern thought and with

¹ The term 'Sephardim,' from the Biblical word 'Sephrad,' generally supposed to mean Spain, is applied to those Jews who follow the ritual and the pronunciation of the Hebrew adopted by the Jews of Spain and Portugal, as well as by those of Eastern countries.

² The name given to the Jews of Poland and Germany, who differ from their Sephardee brethren in the pronunciation of the Hebrew, as well as on some minor ritual matters.

the improved condition of the community. The memorial was referred to the Ecclesiastical Board, where it was met by a stern and absolute refusal to sanction any modification. Indeed, the Rabbis went so far as to deny that there existed in the present age any authority, lay or ecclesiastical, which could permit a single deviation from the customary Synagogue discipline, to which time and prescription had imparted the force of immutable law. This rigid and uncompromising *dictum* caused the memorialists astonishment and pain. It seemed to them preposterous to maintain that formularies which had crept into the public service in times of bitter persecution and hostility, should be regarded as models for all succeeding ages. All hope of Synagogue reform from the Ecclesiastical Board being at an end, there remained for the friends of progress, as Professor Marks said, 'the alternative of either taking the work of improving the mode of worship into their own hands, or of acquiescing in the continuance of a state in which the decay of Judaism would become every day more imminent.'¹

The Association, feeling that the evil had endured too long, determined to suffer no further delay, but to proceed to action, and having secured the services of a minister in Mr. Marks (now Professor Marks), whose views were quite coincident with theirs, they

¹ *Introductory Discourse at the Consecration of the West London Synagogue of British Jews*, by the Rev. Professor Marks, January 1842.

opened a modest temple of prayer in Burton Street, which was duly consecrated on January 27, 1842. This movement, which forced opinion and authority into a fierce struggle, was the cause of wounding many old and honest prejudices and of arousing strong feelings of bitterness. The most serious and enduring evil might have lighted on the whole Anglo-Jewish fraternity if, under circumstances of great excitement and difficulty, Francis Goldsmid had not steadily and manfully guided the counsels of the nascent congregation. He gave his mind to every detail, and, finding that he had to deal with strong prejudice and inveterate habit of thought, he laboured earnestly to soften passion and not to exasperate it. He happily lived to see the congregation, of which he was the main pillar, increase and prosper, until it established itself in its present spacious edifice in Upper Berkeley Street, and also to see all contention and past differences, so fraught with peril to the interests of the community, healed by the soothing influence of time. On Mr. Daniel Mocatta's death, he succeeded him as chairman of the Council of Founders, and to the end of his life he continued to preside over the congregation, to which he bequeathed a legacy of twenty thousand pounds.

Notwithstanding the steady march which England had made on the road of social progress during the earlier part of the current century, on one important matter, that of public education, it continued to lag

behind Germany and some other European countries. Even at the present day, when school-boards are in operation throughout the land, no general system of education obtains for all classes of the community. Every attempt in that direction has been discouraged, and in fact absolutely thwarted, by party spirit and sectarian prejudice. Ever since the year 1818, national schools continued to spread under the influence of the movement produced by Lancaster and Bell ; but until a later period, the Infant School, one of the most important elements in the present age, had no existence amongst us. There was no lack of Dame Schools, to which children from six to seven years of age were sent, to be kept out of mischief rather than to be methodically taught ; but the idea conceived and promulgated by Fellenberg, that the instruction received by a child between the age of three and five years has the most important influence on its later life, had not as yet taken root in our soil.

Robert Owen, some of whose schemes for the public good may have been tinged with speculative-ness and transcendentalism, was nevertheless at heart a genuine philanthropist. In his laudable efforts to benefit humanity, he was powerfully moved to improve the condition of thousands of poor infants daily exposed to the pernicious influences of a close and unhealthy atmosphere, as well as to scenes of intemperance, indecency, and moral corruption. A

kind of nursery school, where such helpless children might breathe a pure air, have their young ideas developed, and be generally cared for, seemed to Robert Owen to promise a remedy for the evil. He accordingly set up in Lanark the first Infant School, and the success which attended it in training the temper and educating the feelings of the little ones within its walls, led to the establishment of Infant Schools in all the large towns of Great Britain.

Sir Isaac Goldsmid, who had seen the Lanark school in operation, desired to found at once a similar institution for the Jews in London, but he encountered great opposition from some of the leading men of his community, who feared that such an establishment might prove injurious to the interests of the Great Free School of Bell Lane. But circumstances occurred which overcame that opposition, and enabled Francis Goldsmid to carry into effect his father's scheme for instituting an exclusively *Jewish* Infant School. Mr. Joseph Wilson had recently established an Infant School at his own cost in Spitalfields, and it was attended by many Jewish children. It is probable enough that Mr. Wilson's object was philanthropy, and not propagandism; but the managers of the school suffered it to become a centre of the conversionists, where systematic attempts were made by missionaries to entice Jewish children from their parental faith. Under such circumstances a Jews' Infant School became an

absolute and pressing necessity ; and the first Jewish institution of the kind was inaugurated in the vicinity of Houndsditch, September 14, 1841.

As its President, Mr. Francis Goldsmid delivered on the occasion an address animated with vigour and warmth, setting forth the advantages of such an institution, and its influence on children of tender age, when first and enduring impressions are made, and emphasising the necessity for making it essentially *Jewish*. He said : ‘ It is two years ago since some persons who took a deep interest in the welfare of the community, and of whom I have the pleasure to be one, had our attention directed to the want of such an institution as the present one. In the course of the autumn of last year, circumstances occurred which made us feel that an attempt to form such an institution ought no longer to be delayed. It appears that persons of a different faith from ourselves had perceived, as we have, the advantages of such an establishment, and had taken means to supply it. The two gentlemen, Mr. Walter Josephs and Mr. Sampson Samuell, whose attention was first drawn to the institution to which I am alluding, felt that it was conjoined with a sinister project, which we could not suffer to be accomplished. With respect to mere differences of creed, it matters little when the pupil has arrived at an age when he requires several teachers. But as regards the earlier education, when one teacher only is placed over a whole school, the

case is widely different. If you desire an institution like the present one, it must be placed under the direction of an Israelite.' . . . 'There cannot be a doubt as to the utility of a school such as this. Some years ago, indeed, people believed that education was ineffectual before the age of five or six years. But at an earlier age you can educate the feelings and the heart, and for this you cannot begin too young. There is not a feeling of the infant that is not capable of being turned to good or evil. There is an education that teaches a child when he has quarrelled to kiss and be friendly again, and not to cherish enmity. Take, for example, the feeling of fear. Let the fear of darkness, as is perhaps natural, be encouraged by stories, and threats of ghosts, and then a sentiment of superstition will be produced in the infant, which will pursue him to the end of his days, and vain will be all his incessant efforts in after years to rid himself completely of the defect. But if the groundlessness of such terrors be explained, the infant will readily answer, as an infant *did* answer who had been trained in the school at Edinburgh. Passing through a churchyard at night, the child was asked if he was not afraid? "Afraid!" replied he, "afraid of what? I go to the infant school."

The Jews' Infant School has filled up a gap in our educational system, and has fully answered the expectations of its promoters. It has already thrown out a branch in a neighbouring district, and so far from

having proved hurtful to the Bell Lane institution, it has served it effectually as a nursery. Much of its success is due to the lady who has presided over it since it was opened. The essential qualities for an infant school governess are practical good sense, a mild and patient temper, and an affectionate disposition. All these are found in Miss Miriam Harris, who combines with them a singular talent for organisation and great capability of moulding the rough material with which she oftentimes has to deal.

The West Metropolitan School, founded by the late Mr. Frederick D. Goldsmid, and now risen to the level of a middle-class school, owes much also to the generous support of Francis Goldsmid. Indeed the school-house in general, wheresoever it raised its head, found in him a patron and a benefactor. One of the chief objects of his life was to promote a high-class education amongst the youth of both sexes, apart from all considerations of sect or creed. He had indulged the hope of seeing a normal school established on the approved German model for the training of Jewish teachers. His sister, Anna Maria Goldsmid, has long been at work for this desirable object, and she is striving still to complete the needful fund which Francis Goldsmid started with a thousand pounds. It is much to be regretted that the want of such a school is not more generally felt by the Jewish public.

A Jewish College was held by Francis Goldsmid,

as by all thinking men, to be a necessity of the times. Instruments for carrying on the ministry of the Synagogue are not found ready made. It was needful therefore to establish here, as in France and Germany, a college for training and forming into the required type a succession of enlightened and accomplished spiritual teachers. But the Jews' College in its proposed form he declined to support, because he considered it based on a system that had become obsolete, and at variance with cultivated English thought in the nineteenth century.

His recommendation was that the institution should be affiliated to University College, and that inasmuch as religious instruction should be localised, whilst secular instruction ought to be centralised, the Jews' College should have a separate establishment for the teaching of Hebrew and theology, as well as for the practice of religious discipline; whilst for science, classics, and the faculty of arts in general the pupils of the Jews' College should attend the lectures at the University in Gower Street.

This was sage counsel, but it was not acceptable to the promoters of the Jews' College, who desired to keep its students entirely apart from every other academical establishment. Francis Goldsmid could not bring himself to support an institution based on such narrowness and separateness, and which distinguished in no way whatever between the discipline of secular education and theological science.

It seemed to him that the plan was reactionary and ill calculated to train the faculties, and that a college conducted on such a principle would show an absence of healthy intellectual life, and would fail of thoroughness. Time has proved the soundness of these opinions. It is now a quarter of a century and more since the Jews' College came into existence, and its slender results can scarcely have realised the expectations of its promoters. The moderate success it has achieved may be assigned by some to a lack of public support. But the very fact that the community at large do not come to its aid might suggest to its council the possibility that many thinking persons share the views of Francis Goldsmid.¹

How the true interests of Judaism are inseparably blended with the unstinted acquisition of secular knowledge is most felicitously shown by Francis Goldsmid in the following passage, with which he closed a lecture, delivered at Sussex Hall in 1855, on the history of the Jews in Spain: 'The performance by a Jew of his duties to his faith and his community has nothing in it inconsistent with the pursuit of the widest knowledge, or with the greatest readiness to serve his country. You might justly say, Who questions so obvious a truth? if one did not from time to time hear, nay, if I had not very recently known to be expressed by a person or two, many of

¹ The Council of the Jews' College have since reconstituted it on the principle suggested by Francis Goldsmid.

whose opinions I hold in the highest respect, doubts concerning the accuracy of a portion of what I should have considered an almost indisputable proposition. If there be any among you who have ever entertained such a doubt, I would say to you it is true with regard to corporeal matter, but it is not true with regard to intellectual attainment, that it grows less solid in proportion as it increases in extent. On the contrary, the man who within certain reasonable limits varies the subjects of his study, will be able to apply to each more mental force and more power of illustration than, if his attention were always engrossed with a single subject, he could bring to bear upon that one. I would further ask any (if any there be) who imagine that we may perchance become less completely Jews and Jewesses by becoming more thoroughly men and women, carefully to examine that portion of history which has occupied us this evening. Where, in the countries in which the Jews have been forced by persecution and disabling laws, or have been led by the narrow spirit which such misfortunes sometimes engender among persons exposed to their operation—where, I repeat, in the countries in which the Jews have been forced or led to confine their attention to the performance of religious duties, and to the earning of a subsistence—where, in those countries, have they done as much for the honour and for the service of their faith, as was done in that land and age in which Jews

embraced, and in many instances by the very men who embraced, within the compass of their studies, well-nigh the whole circle of the science and letters of the time, and among the objects of their desire the creditable ambition to serve their country? Where, throughout whole centuries of Ghettos and of Jewries, shall we find men who have promoted religious as well as secular learning among their co-religionists like Hasdai, the physician and adviser of Abd-al-Rahman, or like Samuel Levi, the minister of the Khalif of Granada?—Men who have adorned the Jewish liturgies with devotional poems like those of Gabirol and Jehuda Halevi, or who have expounded the precepts and illustrated the principles of their religion as ably as the philosophic Aben-Ezra, or as Maimonides, the physician of the Egyptian court? Examples like these may well dispel any such doubts as those to which I have referred, and may make us safe in concluding that the Jew will best do his duty to his faith and to his community who neither neglects religion for the sake of general learning nor general learning for the sake of religion; but who, honouring the past of his race and creed, and desiring that their future may be honourable, strives in early life to increase to the utmost of his power his stores of knowledge, and in maturer age to promote the welfare, religious, moral, intellectual, and physical, of his own class, and, as far as in him lies, of any and

every class of his fellow-citizens, and who, in those comparatively rare cases where opportunity offers, is ready, by the faithful discharge of public functions, to do good service to his sovereign and to the State.'

CHAPTER VI.

IN 1839 a Bill was introduced by Mr. Divett to render certain the admission of Jews when elected to corporate offices. It passed almost unopposed through the Commons, but was defeated by a small majority in the Lords. A similar Bill was carried through Parliament by Sir Robert Peel in 1845, and the passing of that measure was generally regarded as the precursor to an Act for the admission of the Jews to the legislature. The emancipation question, which since 1836 had ceased to be agitated,¹ was revived with increased vigour in 1847 by the Liberal constituency of London, who returned Baron Lionel de Rothschild as one of the representatives for the City. Lord John Russell seized the occasion for introducing a Bill to alter the anomalous state of the law which shut out the Jews from Parliament. It passed rapidly through all its stages in the House of

¹ It had not, however, ceased to be to the Jews an object of very deep interest. (See letter addressed by Sir Isaac L. Goldsmid to the Jewish Electors of the City of London, 1841, Appendix III.)

Commons, having amongst its supporters Mr. Gladstone and other eminent Conservatives who had previously voted against a measure of a like character. What was more remarkable still, it was powerfully aided by Sir Robert Peel, in a speech of persuasive eloquence. It was the fate of this eminent statesman to become in his later years the advocate of many liberal measures which he had stoutly opposed in the earlier part of his career. But never did he recant a bygone opinion with a better grace than in the finished oration which he delivered on the second reading of the Jews' Disabilities Bill in February, 1848. But notwithstanding that speech, which frankly avowed that Sir R. Peel's erroneous forecast of the consequences of admitting Jews into Parliament had been thoroughly corrected by his later experience, the Bill again encountered an adverse majority in the House of Lords, and was lost.

The rejection of the measure on that occasion called forth from Francis Goldsmid the most spirited and weighty of all his appeals for the removal of the disabilities under which his community laboured.¹ It was a matter of no small difficulty to assail with an unused weapon the unintelligible motive for keeping some thousands of free-born, intelligent, and loyal British subjects in political serfdom. The arguments in favour of civil and religious liberty had of late

¹ *Reply to the Arguments advanced against the Removal of the remaining Disabilities of the Jews.* Murray, 1848.

become hackneyed, and it was scarcely possible to give new life and colour to worn-out generalities. Indeed, posterity will wonder how an illiberal and tyrannical policy like that advocated by the House of Lords could have been so long and so persistently upheld by statesmen of renown and men of political foresight.

Mr. Goldsmid's pamphlet, however, was admirably adapted to the occasion. Taking for his motto the well-known lines of the Roman poet—

'. unam minimamque relinque,
De multis minimam posco, clamavit, et unam'—

he shows that as the restrictive laws which continue to fetter and degrade the Jews are utterly irreconcilable with accomplished events, there can be no motive for retaining them save that which arises out of a belief 'in the utility of a modified persecution,' or that of an unwillingness 'to part calmly with the last disability of any importance remaining on the statute book.' . . . 'On this one law the opponents of the emancipation of the Jews accumulate the affection which they formerly divided among a goodly family of penal and disabling enactments. Like Niobe in the fable, when she begs the life of the last of her children, they make one sad remonstrance more before their regret shall grow for ever dumb—

"Spare yet the least, she cried ; the rest is past ;
Of all I loved, O spare the least and last."

To estimate at its full worth this able production,

it should be read as a whole. Some idea, however, of its general effect may be formed from the closing paragraphs which deal with the question whether those who, on religious grounds, oppose the enfranchisement of the Jews, show respect for Christianity.

'When the New Testament is found to declare that every Christian should do to other men as he would that they should do to him;¹ that sorrow awaits every man that does evil; and glory, honour, and peace are the portion of all that are good, whether Jew or Gentile;² that of the three virtues, faith, hope, and charity, the greatest is charity;³ that he that saith that he is in the light and hateth his brother, is in fact in darkness;⁴ when these and such as these are proclaimed as the precepts of Christianity, the first impression produced by them is that such a religion cannot command the continuance of a law which causes to one body of men a serious evil as a punishment for conscientious belief, and works no practical benefit to the remainder of the nation.

'If, however, I found that learned Christians in general agreed in declaring that Christianity *did* command this, I should, of course, conclude that I had misapprehended the precepts to which I have referred, and that they were to be understood in some other than their plain and obvious signification. But

¹ St. Matthew vii. 12.

² Romans ii. 9, 10.

³ Corinthians xiii. 13.

⁴ St. John xii. 9.

when it is seen that many pious Christians at least, both divines and laymen, attribute the same meaning to these commands ; when the Archbishop of Dublin has emphatically said¹ that to punish men for religious error is persecution, and that if there be such persons as persecuting Christians in this country, he differs from them in religion more than from the Jews themselves ; when Sir Robert Grant, in bringing forward a motion for removing the civil disabilities of the Jews, called on the professors of Christianity² to efface the reproach that affected their national faith, and to render their religion what it ought to be, a religion of peace and goodwill towards all mankind ; —I am encouraged to believe that I have rightly understood, according to the simple meaning of the words in which they are expressed, the passages of the New Testament which appear to declare that justice knows no distinction of creed, and that charity in its most comprehensive sense is the highest of human duties.

‘And, so believing, I venture (although myself an adherent of a more ancient faith) to say to my Christian fellow subjects : As you value the reputation of your country for generosity and uprightness, exclude not one small body of men from privileges to which all others have been admitted ; continue no longer a useless and degrading disqualification. But if you

¹ Debates in the Lords, August 1, 1833.

² Debate in the House of Commons, April 17, 1833.

have resolved on the contrary, then at least give *any* reason for your determination rather than your love for religion. Cast not upon your faith so foul a stigma as to say that respect for it requires you to perpetuate a law producing extensive injury to one class of your countrymen, and not the slightest benefit to the rest. Declare not (in contradiction to the words of the book which you revere as divine) that you ought *not* to do to others as you would that they should do unto you—that honour ought *not* to be the portion of the Jew that does good—that faith is greater than charity, and lastly, whilst you boast that the moral system of Christianity is a development of the revelation delivered to the Hebrews, do not abandon that great precept on which the morality of the Old Testament is founded, and which even Jews have hitherto supposed to have been adopted¹ as the foundation of the New: “Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.”²

The rejection of the measure in 1848 also called forth an admirable production from Mr. Henry Faudel, who, in conjunction with his kinsman Sir Benjamin Phillips, rendered important services to the emancipation cause during the long struggle it had to maintain against its inveterate and implacable foes.

The seat of Baron de Rothschild having become vacant by the failure of the Emancipation Bill, the

¹ St. Matt. xxii. 37-40; St. Mark xii. 29-31.

² Levit. xix. 18.

citizens of London returned him again as their representative, and he proved himself by his public-spirited conduct well worthy of their choice. Sinking all personal considerations in the advocacy and maintenance of a great principle, Baron de Rothschild, heedless of labour, fatigue, and expense, and undaunted by repeated failures, successfully contested every succeeding election, until public opinion forced the House of Lords to capitulate to the demands of justice and common sense. On the occasion of the second return of Baron de Rothschild for the City of London, he appeared at the table of the House of Commons to take the oaths, and it was contended by Mr. Page Wood (afterwards Lord Chancellor), that the Honourable Member could take the oath of abjuration without the words 'on the true faith of a Christian,' since these words constituted the form of asseveration only, and did not affect the substance of the oath. But Lord Romilly, then Attorney-General, dissented, and the course recommended by Mr. Wood was not adopted by the House.

After repeated struggles between the two branches of the legislature, the long-pending question was settled by a proposal made by the Earl of Lucan. A Bill having been sent up by the House of Commons establishing a new oath to be taken by all members of Parliament with the old form of asseveration, but with a clause enabling Jews to omit it, this clause

was struck out by the Lords. But they immediately afterwards passed a separate Bill, which authorised the desired omission, except when the oath should be taken by members of either House of Parliament ; and at the same time empowered either House to pass a resolution permitting any Jewish member of its body to omit the words, 'on the true faith of a Christian.' This singular compromise,¹ sullenly agreed to by the majority of the Bishops, was accepted by the House of Commons, and thus in July, 1858, the Emancipation of the Jews was accomplished after twenty-nine years of agitation. There would have been something congruous in seeing Sir Isaac Lyon Goldsmid, the greater part of whose active life had been devoted to the liberation of his community from the bondage of tests, able to realise the victory which had at last been achieved. But the worthy Baronet was then too much bowed down by years and infirmities (under which he sank in the following April) to share in the common joy, when the contest in which he had taken the chief part was over, and when the last barrier of religious partition was levelled to the ground.

¹ Lord Lucan's strange device no longer forms part of the statute law, a subsequent Act having introduced a new oath to be taken by members of Parliament and persons holding office under the Crown, which does not contain any reference to the Christian faith.

CHAPTER VII.

FRANCIS GOLDSMID had very early made his mark at the Bar, and his elevation to the dignity of Queen's Counsel, in 1858, was but a just, though long-deferred tribute to his professional eminence. On succeeding to his father's title and estates, he retired from practice, though retaining a deep interest in the prosperity of Lincoln's Inn, of which society he was a Bencher. A letter of Lord Justice James, written to Lady Goldsmid a few months after her husband's death, and inserted in the Appendix,¹ is the best evidence of the esteem and affection with which Sir Francis on his retirement from the Bar was remembered by his confrères. Having now at free disposal his time and a large fortune, Sir Francis devoted both liberally to the promotion of the well-being of the Jewish community and the permanent good of mankind, the centres on which his thoughts and his deeds continually turned. He was sensitive to a degree of the position in which he was placed, and he recognised it as a trust involving great moral responsibility. With him wealth

¹ See Appendix IV.

was so far from being the primary interest of life that he valued it chiefly as an instrument to be employed in the service of benevolence and human progress, and few knew better than himself how to dispense it with discernment and grace. He was not heedless of any object that had a claim on judicious philanthropy. The school-house, the hospital, the asylum, the edifice for the worship of the Universal Father, whether it was a Synagogue, a church, or a chapel, shared alike in his bounty ; and his wide intellectual sympathies were incessantly evinced in his efforts to foster merit and to develop the germs of genius. The condition of the poor held a foremost place in his regard, and he was ever ready to help them in the most effectual way by enabling them to help themselves, and to save them from sinking into the degradation of mendicancy.

He took a deep interest in University College, and, when in town, never failed to attend its council meetings. He was also President of the Senate, and the body of Professors highly appreciated the judicial ability which he displayed and the attention and courtesy which they received at his hands. In 1871 he took a leading part in the most important academical event in the history of that College, in instituting a faculty of science as distinguished from that of arts and laws. In order to secure the valuable services of Professor Clifford for the Chair of Applied Mathematics, Sir Francis Goldsmid under-

took to augment the income of that Chair by an annual grant of £200 for five years, and at the expiration of the term he renewed his generous gift, and continued it until his death. He was also Treasurer of the University College Hospital, to the support of which he annually contributed a considerable sum.

Within a short time of his death he offered to give ten thousand pounds towards the rebuilding of the hospital, provided the rest of the amount required should be subscribed. The estimation in which he was held by his coadjutors will appear from the following correspondence :

19 Chester Terrace, Regent's Park :
October 29, 1870.

My dear Sir Francis,—The Hospital Committee have asked me to communicate to you their earnest request that you will allow them to attach your name to one of the wards in which you have lately done so much to increase the chance of recovery of the surgical patients. The Committee desire to mark in this permanent manner their recognition of the valuable services which you have rendered to the Hospital, not only by your long-continued and most liberal contributions to its funds, but by the time and thought which you have always been ready to devote to its interests whenever you could in any way promote them. They would have asked to connect your name with both those wards, had not one of them already

received the name of the Brandreth Ward. I trust that you will give me the pleasure of communicating to the Committee your compliance with their request.

Believe me,

Yours faithfully,

EDWARD ENFIELD.

To this communication Sir Francis replied :

St. John's Lodge,
November 6, 1870

My dear Mr. Enfield,—Having been a good deal occupied for some days past, and believing that Wednesday next is the day when the Committee of University College Hospital meets, I have not answered till now your note of October 20, and I hope you will excuse the delay. I have always great pleasure in doing anything in my power for the benefit of the Hospital or College ; as well from my conviction of the utility of both institutions, as from a recollection of the active share taken by my father in founding them and promoting their prosperity. But I certainly never either expected or desired that my services should be recognised in the way now proposed by the Committee. At the same time I feel that it would be ungracious to decline an offer so kindly made, and the value of which you have increased by your mode of communicating it. Perhaps I may be allowed to add that as since my con-

nection with the Hospital I have always considered myself as representing my father and family, I should prefer, if agreeable to the Committee, that the ward should be called by my surname rather than by my individual name.

I remain, my dear Mr. Enfield,
Yours faithfully,

FRANCIS GOLDSMID.

P.S.—You will, like me, have been much concerned by the death of E. Romilly. He was an excellent man, and an old and staunch friend of the College and Hospital.

These institutions, to which Sir Francis was so strongly attached during his life, were not forgotten by him in his anticipation of death. He bequeathed to the University College and to the Hospital fifty thousand pounds.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE great variety and importance of the different questions to which Sir Francis Goldsmid devoted his attention during his Parliamentary career will be illustrated by a few of the speeches which will appear in the following pages. Whilst this selection may suffice as examples of his Parliamentary oratory, it should be stated that he was not one of those members who are always striving to put themselves forward in debate. He, at times, sat silently, though assiduously through protracted discussion in silence, and was always found on the side of liberal and beneficent measures.

He entered Parliament in 1860, having been elected in the Liberal interest for Reading,¹ which he continued to represent until his death. A political career had always been the aim of his honourable ambition ; but the disabilities which excluded Jews from the Legislature were not removed until he had passed the meridian of life. There is scarcely an instance on record of anyone making a figure in the

¹ See his Address to the Constituency of Reading, in Appendix V.

House of Commons who had not entered it in the spring of manhood. His forensic talents, however, his thorough acquaintance with the domestic administration and the foreign relations of his country, combined with his large fortune and his high personal character, gave him weight and position in the House, and rendered his Parliamentary course useful and honourable. He was regular in his attendance throughout the session, and he took an active part in the debates. His opinions were invariably received with marked attention, especially on questions of a legal and constitutional character, and he was frequently consulted by his party, when in power, on the drawing of Acts of Parliament.

On January 24 he appeared at the table to be sworn according to the recent statute of 22 Vict. c. 48 for the relief of persons professing the Jewish religion. His first speech delivered in Parliament was on a Bill introduced February 9 by Sir Fitzroy Kelly for the prevention of bribery at elections, in which it was proposed, amongst other pains and penalties, to make the candidates and all into whose hands the money should come, amenable to perjury, which involved imprisonment and hard labour. Sir Francis said :

That having given much attention to the subject, the result of his consideration was to lead him to the conclusion that the Bill of the honourable and learned member for East Suffolk was not calculated to effect the object he had

in view. Any attempt to check an offence against the public interests by so severe a punishment as was proposed would in effect be bringing them back to a state of things that existed half a century ago, when the criminal legislation of the country was marked by a character of great severity, but which for the last forty years had given way to much more humane and enlightened views. At a time not very remote, a large number of the members of that House owed their seats to the practice which the honourable and learned gentleman now proposed to punish so severely. He doubted whether public opinion would support the honourable gentleman in his endeavour to inflict for the crime in question a punishment which would permanently disgrace a man or affect his future standing in society. The effect would be to deter gentlemen from coming forward to prosecute, or to assist in the prosecution of the offending parties. If they wished to prevent men from entering that House by means of bribery, they must provide the means of entering it without corruption, even as the representative of a constituency of which a portion was corrupt. What would be more effective than any other measure would be to provide that whenever a successful candidate was unseated on the score of bribery, the opposing candidate, after he had established his case, without any recriminating case being made out against him, should obtain the vacant seat without the necessity of a new election. The great difficulty under the existing law was to induce the unsuccessful candidate to prosecute the offending party, inasmuch as in the event of his success in ousting the sitting member he would be further than ever from the object he sought in petitioning, because he would be compelled to go again before the same constituency, after he had made himself unpopular in their eyes by exposing their corruption, and his chance of being returned would consequently be much diminished. This

state of the law operated as a great discouragement to petitions. Those best acquainted with the subject were convinced that in the majority of cases in which bribery was committed no petitions were presented against them, and it was well known that although every general election was followed by a great number of petitions, the number in which they were effectively followed up was small. He attributed that condition of things to the defective state of the law in this respect. It was that which gave the greatest encouragement to bribery. The plan he would suggest should be to enable the House to give to the honest candidate a mode by which he might enter Parliament, as the member for even a corrupt borough, without having participated in any corruption. If the question were not taken up by a more competent member, he should feel it his duty on a future occasion to state more fully the principles upon which he believed that any measure to be effective in putting down bribery should be based.

On the second reading of another Bill for prevention of bribery, brought in by Mr. Mellor, Sir Francis approved of some of the clauses whilst he strongly objected to others.

Theoretic severity (he said) produced, in most instances, practical impunity; and for the last forty years this system had gradually been abandoned, and sounder views of criminal legislation, which were largely indebted for their diffusion to the writings and speeches of such men as Bentham, Romilly, Montagu, and Mackintosh, were established. The new plan for the repression of offences proceeded on the two principles of making punishment certain, and diminishing temptation to commit the offence; and wherever it had been applied, it had always been

found to work for the public welfare. Bank-note forgery and smuggling, formerly crimes of alarming frequency, against which penal statutes had in vain been directed, were put an end to in one case by an improved system of manufacture and by removing from circulation the one-pound bank-note, and in the other by a reduction in the rate of duty. Why should they not apply to the offence of bribery, which was frequently designated a crime, the same principle which had been attended with beneficial effects in the instances he had mentioned? The second and third clauses of the Bill proposed, at the discretion of the judge, to add in cases of bribery at parliamentary and municipal elections the penalty of hard labour to that of fine and imprisonment already pronounced by the statutes. This would be wholly inconsistent with the spirit of modern legislation, and how was it possible for public opinion to approve the infliction of a degrading punishment, what the French termed *peine infamante*, when a feeling existed that many members of that House were tainted with this very offence of bribery? The penalties imposed by the existing law were not enforced. At every general election hundreds of cases of bribery occurred, and yet nothing was more rare in the history of our criminal courts than punishment of that offence either by fine or imprisonment. The only effectual remedies, in his opinion, were the loss of the seat and the loss of the vote ; but to legalise the sentence of hard labour in cases of bribery would only be to add to what had proved in practice an idle threat, a fresh denunciation which was still more certain, from its severity, to prove inefficacious.

After having criticised some of the clauses of the Bill which interfered with the rule of English law, Sir Francis said :

I now come to the remedy which I myself am desirous should be adopted, namely, that when a defeated candidate petitioned on the ground of bribery or treating, and made out his case without any recriminatory case being established against himself, he should be entitled to the seat. In the majority of elections that take place under the present system in corrupt political constituencies, it usually happens that there are three parties, of whom two are opposed in politics, one being somewhat stronger than the other, and the third party, which holds no political opinions whatever—except it is recognised as a political principle that electors are to make as much as possible out of their votes—are able to give the victory to the weaker side by throwing their force in that direction. A candidate is invited down by the stronger side, and is correctly assured that if no corrupt practices be resorted to he is sure of his seat. But a few days before the election it is ascertained, by some of those appearances so well understood by persons familiar with such matters, that the weaker side has made arrangements for buying the votes of the corrupt section. Under such circumstances what course would the most strenuous opponent of bribery recommend the candidate to pursue? If, persevering in his original intention not to bribe, he withdraws from the contest, it is true that he avoids both the expense and the contamination to which he would otherwise be exposed. But so far as the constituency is concerned bribery is not checked, but on the contrary encouraged; for the weaker side, simply by unscrupulous determination, succeeds in gaining the election. If, as I fear is most frequently the case, the candidate who starts with pure intentions finds that unless he resorts to the same practices as his opponent his election will be lost, and thereupon places a sum of money in the hands of his agent without inquiring how it is to be spent, such a proceeding is not, of course, to

be defended, but the unwillingness of men to succumb in any contest in which they have once engaged, the extreme importance which is attached to a seat in this House, and the improbability of succeeding on petition, make it, I think, not to be wondered at that the temptation is often yielded to, and results in the occurrence of events such as have excited the reprobation of the country at Gloucester and Wakefield. The candidate might, to be sure, adopt the more honourable course of adhering to the principle of purity, and, if defeated, petition the House ; but after the expenditure of a moderate amount on the legitimate costs of the election, and a much larger sum in prosecuting the petition, he is no nearer to the object of his ambition, even if he succeeds in ousting his opponent. Where a very gross scene of corruption is exposed, the House will probably suspend the writ for a year, but if a new writ be issued immediately, no man is more secure of the hostility of the corrupt party than the honourable and public-spirited candidate ; and, with some few exceptions, it has been found that the corrupt elector, whether influenced by gratitude or self-interest, if he cannot obtain money from anybody at the second election, votes for the candidate of the party to whom he has sold his vote on the former occasion. In some cases it is the friend, in others the near relative, but whoever comes forward in the same interest as the unseated representative is pretty sure of being returned. Thus the three courses which are open to a candidate desirous to avoid bribery are all eminently unsatisfactory. Numerous as are the petitions which flock in after every general election, the number of seats which are obtained by corrupt agency, and respecting which no effective petition is presented, is even greater still. By the course which I propose, bribery, like smuggling, would be rendered a non-remunerative speculation, for the effect would only be to

hand over the seat on petition to the opposing candidate, and gentlemen coming forward to contest elections would shrink from an expenditure which only leads to exposure and defeat. The House, moreover, would be relieved from the unpleasant and embarrassing dilemma in which it is too frequently placed of punishing the innocent as well as the guilty electors by suspending the writ for an indefinite period, or of rewarding the guilty parties and affording them the opportunity of a fresh harvest by suffering a new election at once to take place. It has been said that this proposal would lead to the result that the candidate of the minority would not unfrequently gain the seat—meaning of course by the minority of unbought votes. But, on reflection, it will be seen that this could rarely occur. As the law now stands, the candidate who has the majority of unbought votes is, nevertheless, often tempted to buy votes, lest his majority should be overpowered by the bought votes on the other side, and in this way he might put it out of his own power to obtain the seat either at the election or on petition. But under the law as altered he would be perfectly certain to obtain the seat on petition, and the only way in which he could incur the risk of losing it would be by his own folly. To use a familiar phrase, it would be by buying votes that he would be ‘sold.’ Candidates having the minority of unbought votes may more frequently obtain the seat at present than under this alteration of the law. Whatever plan may be adopted, I therefore trust that it will comprise the remedy which I have suggested.

The motion for the second reading of the Bill was, by leave, withdrawn; and a Select Committee was appointed ‘to inquire into the operation and effect of the Corrupt Practices Prevention Act (1854), and

whether any and what further measures are necessary for the prevention of corrupt practices at elections.'

Sir Francis voted for the commercial treaty with France, for the repeal of the paper duty, for the better representation of the people, for the introduction of the Ballot, and for the Bill to open endowed schools to children of Dissenters, and to enable Dissenters to act as trustees in cases where no intention was specifically expressed respecting the religious character of the trust. The Bill for increasing the income tax encountered in him a strong opposition. In Committee on the Attorneys and Solicitors Bill he gave an earnest support to the amendment of Mr. Stansfeld to put the matriculation examination of the London University on the same footing, for the purposes of that Bill, as the middle-class examinations of Oxford and Cambridge. Whilst he approved generally of the Masters and Operatives Bill, he strenuously opposed the proposed courts of arbitration, objecting to the power which the Bill gave to one party to compel another to appear before the proposed councils—a power which he did not believe could be safely entrusted to working men.

Early in the year 1860 the aggressive policy of the French Government created an uneasy and suspicious feeling throughout the Continent, and the commotion which it produced in England was so powerful as to call into being the institution of

Volunteer corps. The force numbered at first about 70,000, but a little later, after France had annexed Nice and Savoy, the Volunteers increased to over 150,000. The Government caught up the general alarm, and, acting on a report presented by a commission appointed to consider the condition of the Royal dockyards, the ports of Dover and Portland, &c., Lord Palmerston moved in Committee the following resolution :

That it is the opinion of this Committee that, towards providing for the construction of works for the defence of the Royal dockyards and arsenals, and of the ports of Dover and Portland, and for the creation of a central arsenal, a sum not exceeding two million pounds¹ be charged upon the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom, and that the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury be authorised and empowered to raise the said sum by annuities for a term not exceeding thirty years ; and that such annuities shall be charged upon and be payable out of the said Consolidated Fund.

The proposal was met by a sturdy opposition from Mr. Bright and the disciples of his school. But Mr. Lindsay, more temperate in his objections to the measure as a whole, interposed with an amendment, ' That, as the main defence of Great Britain against aggression depends on an efficient navy, it is not now expedient to enter into a large expenditure on permanent land fortifications.'

¹ The entire cost of the proposed undertaking was estimated by Lord Palmerston at £11,000,000.

Sir Francis Goldsmid : I do not concur in the amendment, but at the same time I cannot concur wholly with the resolution originally proposed. My objections are twofold. I believe, in the first place, that some of the works recommended are not really required, and, in the next, I think the cost of every work should be estimated, not only by the original cost of construction, but by what is in fact far more important, the subsequent cost of manning it. Anyone reading the report with impartiality and attention might, I think, arrive at the conclusion that the commissioners have made out a sufficient case for the sea defences to protect the dockyards, but that no such case has been made out for the land defences (which are only to be of use after an enemy has landed), except, perhaps, in the one instance of Portsmouth, on account of its peculiar importance. It is evident from the paper or 'detail' laid on the table last Friday that the Government themselves do not concur with the commissioners to the extent of about two-thirds of the land defences, and I would therefore suggest the propriety of their reconsidering the case of the remaining one-third, which involves an expenditure of about a million and a half of money. It is clear from their report that the commissioners have approached the subject with an exaggerated fear of invasion. The honourable member for Birmingham (Mr. Bright), in many of whose remarks I do not concur, has made some criticisms which appear to me to be very just upon the exaggerated language of the report. In one paragraph it is actually stated that if our fleet lost for a time the command of the Channel, our insular position would be a positive disadvantage for the purpose of defence. This, if it means anything, is equivalent to an assertion that, if the command of the Channel were temporarily lost, it would be rational, with a view to the defence of England, to desire that Dover should

be joined to Calais, and that the shores of Hants and Dorsetshire should, not politically, but physically, be annexed to those of Normandy. Now, I ask whether it be possible not to be struck with the absurdity of that proposition. The idea, too, that France or any other nation should invade us for such a secondary object as the destruction of Portsmouth or Plymouth dockyard is one that can scarcely be entertained. Why, if they failed, their landed force would be destroyed, and if they succeeded they would have achieved nothing decisive. The commissioners have also greatly underrated the importance of railways and telegraphs, which would be found most valuable auxiliaries in case of invasion. The works recommended by the commissioners cannot, according to their calculation, be armed by a force of less than 60,000 or 70,000. The Defence Committee at the Horse Guards are of opinion that of these 'a considerable proportion' must be regular troops. If a considerable portion means one-half, the commissioners' recommendation would involve an addition to the regular army of at least 30,000 men, and the less extensive works proposed by the Government to be executed, an addition of at least 15,000 men. And this, at about £65 a man (the sum estimated by the report itself), would occasion the expenditure of £1,000,000, which represents an additional capital sum of £30,000,000 sterling. I do not urge these arguments against the execution of any work that may be required for the defence of the country, whatever the cost, but I do hope that the House will again and again consider whether the landward defences which the commissioners have recommended, except, perhaps, those at Portsmouth, are indispensably necessary.

During this session Sir Francis Goldsmid felt himself called on to protest against a capital error into which a speaker had been betrayed with respect to the

feelings entertained by Jews towards persons of a different faith from their own.

On the second reading of the Religious Worship Bill, Mr. Walpole delivered a speech in which he asserted 'that all the members of the House concurred in the necessity of preaching the gospel.' Mr. Walpole was followed by a noble lord,¹ who said, that whilst agreeing mostly with what had fallen from his right honourable friend (Mr. Walpole), there was one portion of his speech from which he felt bound to dissent. He alluded to that portion of it in which he had stated that all members of the House concurred as to the necessity of preaching the gospel; that, he would beg to remind his right honourable friend, was not exactly the case, for there were four honourable members who did not believe in the necessity of preaching the gospel, and by those gentlemen, whom recent legislation had admitted within the walls of the House, such discussions as the present, he contended, must be regarded as an insult (cries of 'oh, oh'). He would repeat it, there was no longer any community between the Christian religion and the House of Commons, and all references to Christianity,

¹ Time and experience must have satisfied this distinguished nobleman of the groundlessness of his anticipations. Raised since to high office, he has invariably employed the influence of his position for protecting the Jews, as far as in his power lay, in those semi-barbarous countries where religious persecution is still rife. His efforts to secure for every class of Roumanian subjects the equal rights of citizens, by an express article in the treaty of Berlin, will always be remembered with gratitude by the whole of the Hebrew community.

and all quotations from the Bible, must now be, not only out of place, but an insult to those four gentlemen.

Sir Francis Goldsmid: If I had not been one of the four gentlemen alluded to by the noble lord, I should not have taken part in this discussion. The noble lord is no doubt one of those who have been incapable of understanding the motives and principles by which persons of my persuasion were actuated before the Bill passed by which they were admitted to Parliament, and who appear incapable of understanding them now that the Bill has become law. The noble lord seems to be totally unable to understand how it is possible for a member of the Jewish persuasion to combine attachment to his own faith with a wish that persons born in the Christian faith should be instructed in the doctrines of that religion. I can, however, assure the noble lord that the two things are perfectly compatible, and that any measure which is brought forward with the view of providing increased facilities for those born in the Christian faith shall—although I may take no prominent part in its discussion—be looked upon by me, and those whose religious opinions are the same as mine, with favour rather than the contrary. I will go further, and, although I am reluctant to refer to a personal matter, tell the noble lord that in places with which members of the Jewish persuasion are connected by ties of property, they do not scruple, nay, they are quite as anxious as other landlords are, to facilitate the establishment of houses of religious worship and schools in which instruction is given in the Christian religion to those who have been brought up in that faith. I will say nothing more, but I hope I have made it intelligible to the House, though probably it is not intelligible to the noble lord, that any mea-

sure that really tends to promote freedom of religious worship cannot possibly be regarded by persons of my own religion as an insult to them.¹

A question of great constitutional import engaged the attention of the House of Commons during the session of 1861. In the previous year the Commons had passed a Bill for the repeal of the duties of excise on paper levied in the United Kingdom, which was thrown out by the Upper House. Grave doubts were entertained whether the Peers had not passed the limits of constitutional usage in rejecting a Supply Bill on purely financial grounds. To prevent a repetition of the occurrence, the Government in the present session embodied the repeal of the paper duty in the Customs and Inland Revenue Bill. On its second reading the Opposition contended that it was a violation of the privileges of the other branch of the Legislature, which had debated and rejected the Paper Bill, to introduce a measure identical in its provisions, and to annex it inseparably to a Bill of Supply. The opposition was led by Mr. Macdonogh, member for Sligo, in a powerful speech, quoting instances from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries of similar attempts having been defeated in Parliament. On the other hand precedents in abundance were adduced by Sir James Graham, justifying the course proposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the present occasion.

¹ Vide *Hansard's Debates*, April 1860.

Sir Francis Goldsmid said :

Notwithstanding the industry and ability of the honourable and learned member for Sligo, he has fallen into an error not unfrequent with those who have a difficult cause to conduct. He has taken an undoubted doctrine and endeavoured to apply it to circumstances to which it is utterly inapplicable. In the first of the instances which he has cited, an attempt was made to tack to a Bill of taxation a Bill against occasional conformity. That Bill was regarded by a strong party as prejudicial to the interests of the country ; but an attempt to force such a measure upon the House of Peers by a tack to a financial Bill is compared by the honourable and learned gentleman, in the exigency of his argument, to the union of a Bill for repealing the paper duty with other financial measures.

An interest stronger than might have been anticipated has been awakened among certain politicians by the question of the paper duties, but I have never yet heard that it is supposed to affect the interests of religion. The next attempt at tacking referred to by the honourable member was that by which it sought to render the Long Parliament indissoluble. It scarcely requires any argument to show how inapplicable such a precedent is to the present question, but I can promise the honourable member that if any attempt of that nature were made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer members on this side of the House would be quite ready to aid in defeating him. The third instance cited was the Bill with regard to the malt duties in 1807, to which a clause was tacked for legalising Exchequer Bills, but that was in effect a measure for the benefit of individuals who happened to hold bills which were previously illegal. The case is exceedingly like one mentioned by Lord Macaulay, and also relied on by the honourable and learned member for Sligo, in which a clause for remitting the money

due from the Duke of Ormond to the Crown was tacked to a Bill for Supply. In the course of the discussion on that occasion, a threat was uttered that the next 'tack' would be for the attainder of some of those Peers who had opposed the measure, and this unjustifiable threat Lord Macaulay has emphatically and most properly condemned. But even from the most energetic supporters of the Government proposals I have heard no indication of an intention to propose that to the Paper Duty Repeal Bill there shall be tacked a clause for the attainder of my Lords Derby and Monteaale. The honourable and learned gentleman has argued that the House of Commons ought not to include in the same Bill a repeal and a grant of taxes, but the right honourable baronet the member for Carlisle (Sir James Graham) has given instance after instance where such a course has been pursued by this House. There can be no doubt that the House has a perfectly constitutional right to combine in one Bill as many provisions relating to taxation as it may think fit, provided that it does not annex to such a Bill anything that is foreign to or different from taxation or supply. So long as the Bill deals solely with taxation it may extend to any length; and in one case, in the time of Sir Robert Peel, the Continuance, Repeal, and Alterations of Customs Regulations were all included in one Act, and these new Customs Regulations fill several pages of the quarto edition of the statutes. The honourable and learned gentleman has alluded to the standing order of the House of Lords, but I ask, is there anything in its nature 'foreign to or different from' taxation in the present Bill? The form of this measure is justified, not only by precedent, but also by reason and expediency. It is because it is necessary to give a general view of the finances of the country that the Chancellor of the Exchequer is obliged to make annually a comprehensive financial statement, so as

to enable the House of Commons to decide on his proposals as to continuing, remitting, altering, and imposing taxes. The intimate connection of the various matters embraced in this Bill is clearly shown by the course of the proceedings in the Committee of Ways and Means. Though the resolution as to the tea duties has been separately proposed—and it might have been technically more correct to confine the discussion on that resolution to tea—this question is so mixed up with that of the paper duty, that the debate has turned as much on the latter as on the former. And when a division had been taken on the tea duties, although the paper-duty resolution was adjourned to a subsequent evening, yet the decision on the tea duties was felt so completely to have settled the question of the paper duty (so far as respects the stage of the Committee of Ways and Means), that on the subsequent evening, when the paper-duty resolution was adopted, there was little debate and there was no division. How then can it be otherwise than reasonable and expedient to comprise in one Bill matters thus naturally and necessarily mixed up in discussion and decision? Again, the necessity for the course taken by Government will be seen on referring to the resolutions adopted last year, and still more from a paragraph in the draft report of the right honourable member for Cambridge, on which these resolutions are based. It is there laid down that, in order to preserve the power of this House over supply, taxes may be granted annually, and the different parts of the Budget included in one Bill. The right honourable gentleman the member for Buckinghamshire, in the course of the debate of last session, said :

I now come, Sir, to the second method of defending our rights suggested by my right honourable friend, and, I take it, adopted in the resolution—that is, by insisting that the whole of our financial scheme shall be embodied in one Bill. We do not—at least I

for one, and the Prime Minister for another, do not question the right of the House of Lords to reject such a Bill ; but of course the responsibility of such a step would under these circumstances be greatly enhanced, and the difficulty of disturbing the financial arrangements of the House of Commons proportionately increased. For my own part, Sir, I have no objection to such a course ; I should have liked, for example, that course should have been pursued this year ; I should have liked to have had the whole scheme of the Chancellor of the Exchequer in one Bill : I should have liked to have seen the additional twopence of income tax set down to the same Bill that was to repeal the duties on paper.

I hope honourable gentlemen on the opposite side of the House, who may have an intention of joining in the objections urged against this Bill, will weigh the passage of the speech which I have just read before they finally determine to oppose a principle of which the right honourable gentleman last year expressed his approval, and which the Government this year has adopted. To send up again to the House of Lords a proposal to repeal the paper duties in a separate Bill would be proceeding entirely in contradiction to the resolutions of last year, in which they unanimously claimed for the House of Commons the right to determine the matter, the manner, the measure, and the time of taxation. By a separate Bill for the repeal of the paper duty this House would commit to the discretion of the Lords three of the four subjects the rightful control over which it then resolved to be in itself only—the manner, by leaving to them to alter the proportion fixed by this House of indirect to direct taxation ; the matter, by leaving to them the continuance of a tax, here thought needless, on an important manufacture ; the measure, by leaving to them to increase the total amount of the year's revenue. The Government could not have proposed such a course without disrespect to the House, and the House itself could

not acquiesce in it without a deliberate abandonment of its own most precious privileges.

During the session of 1863 a measure was brought in by Sir John Trelawny entitled the Affirmations Bill, the object of which was to enable persons to make affirmations in all cases where there might be inability to take an oath from defect or want of religious knowledge or belief. Being opposed by the Government, it was defeated on the second reading; but it was supported by Sir Francis Goldsmid on the broad grounds of the rights of conscience.

I will not dwell (said he) on the first clause, after the admission of the honourable and learned Attorney-General that there are some defects in the law which that clause would remedy, an admission which I should have thought a sufficient reason for reading the Bill a second time. But there is no doubt that the main question to be considered is that raised by the second clause, whether the present state of the law promotes the ascertainment of truth in courts of justice. If it do not—and I am of that opinion—I believe that there is not anything in the conscience of the English people that would require the maintenance of a law which places a barrier in the way of arriving at truth. Before considering the main question, however, I wish to say that, whilst concurring in most of the arguments of the honourable and learned member for Sheffield (Mr. Roebuck), I cannot agree in his observation respecting the Pentateuch. I do not think this a fitting opportunity for Biblical disputation or for the citation of texts, but I will content myself with remarking that the best critics are of opinion that the Pentateuch, as well as other parts of the Old Testament, *do* contain references to a future state. With respect to the

means to be adopted for ascertaining truth in legal investigations, it is in the present day admitted as a general rule, that the most effectual way of accomplishing that object is to let in any evidence that may be offered, whether somewhat more or somewhat less trustworthy, and to leave to the judge or jury who may have to decide the question of fact, the task of weighing its different degrees of credibility. In order, therefore, to justify that exception from the general rule which is now under consideration, it must be shown that the evidence which it shuts out is not only somewhat less trustworthy than that which it admits, but that the evidence excluded is so utterly undeserving of credence as not to be fit to be weighed or compared with that which is let in. And again, in order to show this, it must be shown, first, that infidels or persons of defective religious belief are necessarily disposed to give false testimony ; and secondly, that all such persons are at present excluded from being witnesses. Now, I deny both of these propositions. It will not be contended that persons who do not believe in a future state must therefore think robbery or murder allowable. And if this be not asserted, can anything but mere prejudice lead to the assertion that they think it perfectly permissible to bear false witness against their neighbours? The truth is that although those who are strongly attached to revealed religion may rationally maintain that if there had been no revelation the leading principles of morality would not be as clearly recognised as they are, yet now, at all events, these principles have come to form so complete a part of public opinion, have been so thoroughly incorporated with the human mind, that they are admitted by all, whether believing or not believing in the source from which they may have originally proceeded. There is therefore no solid ground for the opinion that because a man is an infidel or of defective religious belief he will be inclined to give false

evidence. But secondly, even if this could be shown to be the case, all such are not now excluded as witnesses. The best portion of them are shut out, the worst are admitted. If an infidel, not being interrogated on the *voire dire*, takes without objection the oath which for him is a mere idle ceremony, or if, being so interrogated, he professes religious opinions which he does not entertain, he is received as a witness. If he is too conscientious to take either of these courses, he is excluded. It seems to me that such a law cannot tend to the satisfactory investigation of truth, and that the proposed change in it is desirable and necessary. I may add that one of the most learned judges on the Bench, and also a man of known piety—Vice-Chancellor Page Wood—has advocated a measure similar to that now before the House.

Poland, bowed down to the dust under an oppressive yoke, had always been an object of Sir Francis Goldsmid's sympathy, and he never missed an opportunity of befriending its illustrious patriots whom hard necessity had driven to seek an asylum in Britain. A discussion raised in the House of Commons in March 1863 on the Foreign Enlistment Act brought the unhappy condition of Poland under notice, and a few friends of that ill-used country, amongst whom Sir Francis was conspicuous, vainly endeavoured to move the Government to intervene on behalf of its oppressed inhabitants. On that occasion Sir Francis Goldsmid said :

It has been stated by an individual of the highest authority, that 'although England has a right, she is under no diplomatic obligation to interfere on behalf of Poland.'

Now, I contend that when such engagements as those of the Treaty of Vienna are entered into with a great Power, when the violation of them is systematic and accompanied by acts of cruelty and injustice, when the Government committing those acts avows and defends them, and when there is intervention by another Power on behalf of the oppressor and against the oppressed—then, although there may be no diplomatic obligation, there is a moral obligation to interfere from which no first-rate Power can retire without dishonour. The mode in which that obligation is to be discharged depends in part on the inclination of foreign Governments, and as that inclination is better known to the executive than it can be to either House of Parliament, we are practically compelled to leave the matter in the hands of Her Majesty's Ministers. As to the result of that inevitable confidence, though there could be nothing like certainty, there was some ground for hope. It is true that in 1831 the noble lord declined to co-operate with France, for reasons which we are told were excellent, but which, as it appears, cannot even yet be revealed, although thirty years have since elapsed. Unless we proceed on the assumption that everything that is unknown is magnificent, these reasons are not likely to be considered satisfactory. But circumstances are more auspicious now. The superstitious reverence which then existed for the supposed enormous might of Russia has in a great measure disappeared. The people of France are as much interested now as they were then in the fate of Poland, Austria is believed to be much more favourable, and the present struggle in Poland itself appears to embrace more completely the whole nation, nobles and peasants, Christians and Jews. As one instance of this union it may be mentioned that last year the Chief Rabbi shared with the Roman Catholic Archbishop the honour of imprisonment for the offence of having taken

part in a patriotic demonstration. I should rejoice if the consideration to which I have referred would encourage a bolder course than was taken in 1831, and if at that future period when the steps now being adopted by Her Majesty's Government, for the present necessarily concealed from us, should become known, they might be found to leave no room for the unpleasant doubt from which, with reference to some former occasions of a similar kind, it is impossible for us wholly to free ourselves, whether a great opportunity has not been lost for at once strengthening the cause of a gallant people and acquiring additional securities for the future peace of Europe.

During the session of 1864 the Government Annuities Bill, a measure not directly connected with public finance, yet of considerable importance in its bearing on the habits and interests of the working classes, was introduced by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. It proposed, amongst other objects, 'to amend the law relating to the purchase of Government annuities through the medium of the Savings Banks, and to enable the granting of life insurances by the Government.' Sir Francis Goldsmid, whilst fully approving the benevolent motive of the Government, felt himself bound to oppose the Bill on several grounds, one of which was that the business proposed was one that could not with safety to the public be undertaken by the State, nor with safety to the finances of the country. He contended that the insurance business purposed to be carried on under the Bill was not identical, as the Chancellor of the

Exchequer had stated, with the business of Deferred Annuities, that the two were quite distinct, and that the scheme would not really serve the interests of the classes for whose benefit it was proposed. After carefully reviewing the different clauses of the Bill, he denied that any case had been made out for departing from the great general principle, that the Government ought not to undertake business which the people were capable of conducting themselves.

On the great debate raised by Mr. Disraeli in July 1864 touching the conduct of the Government in reference to the war between Germany and Denmark, Sir Francis Goldsmid declined to join in the proposed vote of censure on Her Majesty's Ministers, although he could not wholly approve of the course which they had pursued on that momentous occasion. He said :

On Monday night my honourable friend the member for Bridgewater (Mr. Kinglake) assigned, as a main reason for proposing his amendment, that he could not, consistently with his opinions, vote directly for or against the resolution proposed by the right honourable member for Buckinghamshire (Mr. Disraeli). My difficulties are even greater. I am unable entirely to agree either with the right honourable gentleman or with the Government, still less can I vote for my honourable friend's amendment. I trust, therefore, that the House will allow me to state my grounds for the course which, after much consideration, I have determined to pursue.

I so far concur with the Government as to think that they were perfectly right in inviting, at the beginning of this year, the co-operation of France and Russia, in order to

resist the German invasion of Schleswig. But then I would venture to recall to recollection what some of those who have spoken on behalf of Ministers have seemed half inclined to forget, that that invitation necessarily implied an opinion that the threatened invasion was an act of high-handed injustice. If it was not unjust, the Government were no more entitled to resist it in combination with another Power than to resist it alone. If it was unjust—if, when it was about to take place, the Danes had put themselves so far in the right as to put Germany completely in the wrong, of what use is it to travel back beyond that point, and to endeavour to console the country for the subsequent failure of the attempts to protect Denmark by imputing to her some prior acts of supposed perversity and wrong? I agree, however, as I have said, with the Government, in thinking that their readiness to concur with France or Russia in resisting the invasion of Schleswig deserves approval. I am willing too to concede (though this appears to me to admit of more question) that they judged well in not actively interfering, unless in concert with France or Russia.

But then comes the question whether, if this was to be our policy—to resist in combination with France or Russia, but not to resist alone—that policy has been properly and skilfully carried into effect. And it is upon this question that, notwithstanding my general confidence in the Government, I am forced to coincide in part in the views of the right honourable member for Buckinghamshire. Some of these views seem to me, indeed, to be influenced by the natural exaggeration of party feeling. But I find myself unable to avoid the conclusions, first, that Her Majesty's Government have, I will not say made promises to Denmark, but allowed her to entertain expectations which they have not fulfilled; and, secondly, that, without having

assured themselves of the aid either of France or Russia, they held out to Germany distinct threats, which, unless with the help of one of those Empires, they were not prepared to carry into effect.

And, first, let me say a word or two as to the expectations which the Danes were permitted to entertain. If a great Power undertakes to advise a weak one confronted by overwhelming strength, she thereby implies her intention to support that weak Power, unless she takes care to distinctly guard herself against such a presumption. Now, I find no such care taken in the early part of these despatches. Nay, more, I think that some of them state conversations that were rather likely to encourage the Danish hopes of active assistance. And it should be remembered, that any expressions having that tendency were sure to be understood in their widest sense by those to whom they were addressed. In March, indeed, Earl Russell wrote a despatch (No. 1140) which has been quoted by the Under-Secretary of State, and in which Denmark was warned not to rely on our help. But if we did not intend active interference, prudence required that such warnings should have been much earlier given. Then, as to the threats held out to Germany, the case against the Government is stronger still. I will not again cite despatches which have been already cited, nor even read any additional ones which I consider important, but will content myself with giving the dates and referring to the most essential passages, so that honourable members who feel inclined to do so may verify what I say. The despatch addressed by Earl Russell to Sir A. Buchanan on December 24 (No. 500), that written by Sir A. Buchanan on January 2 (No. 606), Lord Russell's reply, dated January 6 (No. 620), and his despatch to Lord Bloomfield, dated January 14 (No. 696), contain, and not in isolated passages merely, clear threats of war. On January 6 Earl Russell

said that by the invasion of Schleswig without giving Denmark time to repeal the constitution, 'the relations between Prussia and England might be endangered.' I am not deeply versed in diplomatic phrases, but I ask those who are, whether it be possible to threaten hostilities in terms much less obscure. Then again, on January 14, Earl Russell states a conversation between him and Count Bernstorff, in which the probability of dangers to Europe if Germany and England should become enemies was adverted to, and in which Earl Russell said that for some time past 'Great Britain had warned Austria of these dangers, that Prussia and Germany had likewise been warned, but that the voice of England was unheeded, and that little time was now left for counsel, wisdom, and moderation. He hoped it would not be thrown away.' (No. 4535.) Can there be a plainer threat of armed interference? But then it is contended by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that when these threats were uttered England had reason to expect the support of France. Neither by him, however, nor by the Under-Secretary of State, can I find that any document has been cited in proof of this position, except Mr. Grey's despatch of September 18 (No. 126), and Sir Henry Howard's of February 17 (No. 984). Now, for the purpose of supporting this argument of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, one of these despatches is (whatever may be its contents) distressingly too early, and the other provokingly too late. The real effect of M. Drouyn de Lhuys' conversation with Mr. Grey, reported in the despatch of September 18, has been much disputed between the right honourable member for Buckinghamshire and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and I need not enlarge upon it. I will merely remark that whatever might otherwise have been the fair inference from what was said by the French Minister, it appears to me impossible to maintain that a conversation,

in the very conclusion of which he stated that he 'desired to preserve entire liberty for France in this matter,' can be understood as imposing on that country the slightest liability to render us active assistance. But even supposing that any such promise had then been made, how can the Queen's Government maintain that they were entitled to attach any weight to it after the death of King Frederick VII. ? They have argued that the declaration made last summer by the Prime Minister, that if the integrity of Denmark were attacked, he was convinced that she would not stand alone, ought not to have been relied upon by the Danes, because, by the subsequent death of the King, the whole state of things was so completely altered. I think there is great weight in this argument. But then it must follow, by parity of reasoning, that the English Government were not entitled to rely on any promise of assistance made by the French (if they had indeed made any) previously to the accession of King Christian.

Then, as to the French despatch of February 12, referred to in Sir Henry Howard's letter of the 17th, this is just as much too late. The despatch, as stated by Sir Henry Howard, is indeed a singular one. It seems strange that France should have used to Hanover a phrase so ominous as 'not remaining indifferent,' if she did not address similar language to the other German Powers. On the other hand, if she did, it seems strange that there should not be a trace of it throughout these papers. My own conjecture is that Sir Henry Howard, who does not appear to have had any copy of the despatch, did not remember it quite correctly, and, being accustomed to such expressions as 'not remaining indifferent' in English despatches, unconsciously transferred the phrase to a French one. Assuming, however, that his recollection was accurate, it is impossible that the menaces addressed by England to

Germany in December and January can have proceeded on a French despatch of the February following. '*Post hoc, ergo propter hoc,*' is said to be bad logic ; but '*ante hoc, ergo non propter hoc,*' is logic perfectly irrefragable. I am therefore reluctantly compelled to arrive at the conclusion that Her Majesty's Government, without having assurances of support from either France or Russia, uttered distinct and repeated threats to Germany, to which they were not prepared to give effect unless with the assistance of one of those Powers. And I cannot deny that such a course must have lowered the influence of this country.

I now turn to my honourable friend the member for Bridgewater, who, being quite satisfied with the attitude, so agreeable to the German Powers, which has lately been assumed by Ministers, attempts to offer some consolation or excuse for what he can scarcely help regarding as their previous errors. He tells us that what has lately taken place is entirely consistent with the principle of non-intervention. Why, Sir, what can my honourable friend mean? He said, and I believe quite accurately, that by non-intervention is to be understood abstinence from interference in the internal concerns of an independent State. But is that what we have recently seen? On the contrary, as has sometimes been said with reference to reciprocity, the non-intervention we have just witnessed is non-intervention all on one side. In despatches of last December and February, from our ambassadors at Berlin and Vienna (Nos. 372 and 1007), we find distinct admissions by the Prussian minister that the present King of Denmark would, but for German sympathisers, have maintained his authority even in Holstein, and by Count Rechberg, that there was great indifference in Schleswig as to the prince in whose hands the governing power should be placed, and that little would have been heard there respecting the Prince of Augusten-

burg but for the cries in his favour got up by the agitators of small German Powers, following in the rear of the advancing army. We have here the clearest evidence that in Schleswig and even in Holstein, the Danish Government would have remained undisturbed if it had not been overthrown by the armies of Germany. This, then, has been an intervention on the part of strong States against a weak one, and has been successful because it has not been resisted by any strong Power on the other side. Such a result may be very satisfactory to my honourable friend, but it is the very reverse of a triumph of the principle of non-intervention. Then, again, the honourable member for Bridgewater tries to comfort us by the reflection that all the advice we gave to Denmark has increased her moral strength. I should like him, however, to tell us of what use her moral strength has been to her in staying the aggressions or moderating the demands of her German foes, when they had once ascertained that those demands and aggressions were not to be resisted by any material force coming to the aid of the unhappy Danes. On the whole then, Sir, I can find in such topics as these no consolation for our present position, and I am driven to conclude that, if I were absolutely compelled to give a direct affirmative or negative to the resolution of the right honourable member for Buckinghamshire, I could not say 'no' to that resolution.

But then an amendment is announced by my honourable friend the member for Bridgewater, whom, although from his amendment itself I differ as widely as possible, I shall hail, when he moves it, as a temporary ally, and almost as a deliverer. He will deliver me from the necessity of voting directly for or against the right honourable gentleman's resolution. When the amendment of the honourable member for North Warwickshire shall have been disposed of, and that of the member for Bridgewater shall have been

moved, the first question which you, Sir, will have to put will be, not whether the House will affirm or negative the paragraph of censure proposed by the right honourable gentleman, but whether that paragraph shall stand part of the question. In other words the House will have to determine in the first instance, not whether the course of negotiation pursued by the Government has been censurable, but whether the House desires to pronounce any judgment on that subject. On that question I think I shall be free to vote in the negative, and I will shortly state why I am inclined to do so. In order to prevent my vote from being misunderstood, I have been compelled to confide to you, in all the privacy of debate, my opinion of the Danish policy of Her Majesty's Government. But by thus stating my opinion I do not directly contribute to transfer power to right honourable gentlemen opposite, as I should do if I voted for a paragraph of censure being submitted to the House. I am, for obvious reasons, very desirous to avoid taking any part in bringing about such a transfer. As to internal affairs I agree much more nearly with the present Ministers than with those who would be likely to succeed them. As to foreign affairs, if I look to the subject now before the House, no policy has been, or, we are told, can be, announced by the Opposition. I am willing to believe, as they assure us, that this silence is unavoidable. But then it forces me to look to past experience in forming a conjecture whether anything would be gained by a change of the Government, and the following is the comparison which experience leads me to form. Since the present Government came into office they have had to conduct important negotiations connected with the affairs of four foreign countries—Italy, Poland, the United States of America, and Denmark. As to two, Italy and America, they have, as it seems to me, managed these negotiations

with admirable ability and success ; as to the other two, Poland and Denmark, unsatisfactorily and unsuccessfully. Now, if I am to judge from the past, my conjecture is that if all these affairs had been in the hands of the right honourable gentlemen opposite, their policy would thus far have been more consistent, that it would have been everywhere marked by equal unskilfulness and failure. For these reasons, Sir, I have determined to avail myself of the forms of the House, and, though I could not directly negative the paragraph of censure, to vote that it shall not stand part of the question.

And now, Sir, let me in a few words ask the House to consider whether, if it be determined that that paragraph shall not stand part of the question, the amendment of the honourable member for Bridgewater ought to be substituted—a point which it will be impossible calmly to consider in the excitement consequent on the first division. To that amendment I am entirely opposed. I think that the concluding observations made by the noble lord at the head of the Government on Monday week, to the effect that if Copenhagen were about to be attacked, and King Christian were in danger of being made prisoner, it might be necessary to reconsider the course to be taken by this country, were generally distasteful to the House. Honourable members may have had different reasons for disliking the purport of those observations, but I believe I am not wrong in saying that the prevailing impression was, that either such contingencies should not have been contemplated at all, or it should have been stated that if they arose England would be prepared for action. The amendment, however, appears to me to go further than those observations of the noble lord. The effect of its adoption would, I apprehend, be so far to bind the Government to neutrality, that they could not depart from it even if the

contingencies referred to arose. And this I cannot believe to be intended by the House of Commons. But even if it is intended, can anything be more undignified than the language of the amendment? We are asked to express satisfaction. Satisfaction! Can any ten men in the House, or in the country, feel satisfaction at what has occurred? In a publication forming a portion of the foreign press, to which the Chancellor of the Exchequer referred—in the French ‘Charivari,’ I am told that a series of woodcuts has lately appeared, intended to cast ridicule on England, and that one of these represents a Dane sinking into the water, whilst an English sailor on the shore says ‘I cannot help; the place looks rather dangerous.’ If I did not know that my honourable friend the member for Bridgewater was serious, I should suppose that, not content with the powers of the ‘Charivari,’ he desired to add to its ridicule of England a touch of satire of his own. Now, when that gallant little nation, for which during the past year we have written and talked so much, and have done nothing, appears to be finally going down in the deep waters of destruction, my honourable friend proposes in effect, that this prominent assembly of Englishmen should say to the country, ‘At this conjuncture, when those unlucky fellows are drowning, we learn with satisfaction that we are not to be called on to make a single effective effort to save them.’

To such a point I trust the House of Commons has not yet come. I earnestly trust that, whatever may be done as to the resolution of the right honourable gentleman, the House will not adopt the amendment of the honourable member for Bridgewater.

A noteworthy feature in Sir Francis Goldsmid was the consideration he extended to the working classes, and the efforts he made to promote their

material and social well-being. He availed himself of every fitting occasion to urge upon the Government the necessity of remedying the evil under which the working classes were suffering by reason of their displacement on account of new railway schemes and of local improvements. During the progress through Parliament of the Courts of Justice Concentration (Site) Bill (1865), he expressed his deep regret that the noble scheme proposed should be marred by the one blot of turning out so many families from their habitations without making some provision for housing them elsewhere. In the same kindly spirit he supported the Borough Franchise Extension Bill in 1865, and chivalrously maintained the right of the working classes to be admitted within the representative rights of the Constitution.

Replying to the remarkable speech of Mr. Lowe, which was vehemently applauded by the opponents of the measure, Sir Francis Goldsmid said :

I had felt no desire to take part in the debate until I heard the speech of my right honourable friend the member for Calne ; but ever since, I have much wished to say a few words, not because I have the vanity to suppose myself a fit antagonist of my right honourable friend, but because I am convinced that, although his arguments derived an appearance of strength from the force of his expressions and the fertility and ingenuity of his illustrations, yet their intrinsic hollowness will become evident when examined even by a speaker of far inferior power. My right honourable friend claimed to speak with peculiar authority on the ground of

his extraordinary consistency. But, however much I may be disposed to admit the great ability of my right honourable friend, I cannot understand why he imagined himself to be consistent. Shortly after the right honourable gentleman's speech, he was reminded by the honourable member for Liskeard (Mr. Bernal Osborne), that he had supported in 1859 Lord John Russell's resolution, which pointed directly to some such extension of the franchise as is proposed by the present Bill. Again, was not my right honourable friend a member of the administration which introduced the Reform Bill of 1860—a measure which, to adopt the phraseology of the right honourable gentleman, must be called a 'revolver,' of which the present Bill is a 'single barrel,' but the contents of every barrel of which are, according to his present views, fraught with elements destructive of the best interests of humanity. I can understand how on minor matters my right honourable friend is at liberty to sacrifice his own opinions to those of his party. But that was not a minor matter, and therefore I feel bound, out of regard for my right honourable friend's honour, to believe that when he supported that measure he did not hold the views which he now entertains. It is clear that if my right honourable friend had reflected a little more on his past career, he would not have ventured to say that he never found occasion to depart from a conviction which he had once deliberately formed. But if we cannot bow to his authority, ought we to yield to his arguments? I maintain that we ought not. My right honourable friend correctly quoted the Chancellor of the Exchequer as having last year said that every man who was not presumably incapacitated by some consideration of personal unfitness, or political danger, was morally entitled to come within the pale of the constitution. But whilst quoting the Chancellor of the Exchequer with perfect fairness, the right honourable member for Calne exhibited, in

attempting to disprove his position, an unfairness which cannot be surpassed. After disputing the existence of *à priori* rights, he proceeded to remark that if such rights do in reality exist, they are as much the property of the Australian savage and the Hottentot of the Cape as of the educated and refined Englishman. But these remarks have no real application to anything propounded by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, because the Hottentot or Australian savage is presumably incapacitated by personal unfitness, and for every man so incapacitated the Chancellor of the Exchequer had carefully guarded himself against being supposed to claim the franchise. Thus, then, the argument of the right honourable member for Calne, though it was a triumphant refutation, was a refutation of something that was never intended to be upheld by the reasoner whom he was attempting to refute. My right honourable friend next advanced a most extraordinary proposition, for he went on to say that the theory which armed the hand of the assassin was the same as that upon which this doctrine of *à priori* right was founded. Now, I think that was a most unworthy attempt to cast odium upon principles which the right honourable gentleman dislikes. It is true that assassination has sometimes, though fortunately but seldom, been the result of extreme political opinions working on an ill-governed mind; but there is no pretence for coupling that crime with one class of extreme opinions more than with another, for imputing it to those who rave about the *à priori* right of every man to the franchise, rather than to those who rave about the divine right of kings, or about the just and natural claim of the white man to control the thews and sinews of the black. I venture to remind the House that there is not the slightest reason for supposing that the assassin of William the Silent in the 16th century, or the assassin of Abraham Lincoln in the 19th, was a fanatical believer in the abstract right of all men

to political equality. Then my right honourable friend disputes the propriety of lowering the franchise, because he says that all men who wish to exercise the franchise can get it under the present law. He assumes that those who do not obtain it do not deserve it ; and he adds that the question is whether the House should drag down the franchise to the level of those who have no sense of decency and morality. When I heard this, I almost thought my right honourable friend had rather perpetrated a bitter joke than made a serious declaration. It reminded me of an anecdote told of a man of exalted rank and great wealth, who, whenever he heard of any of his friends wanting money, exclaimed, 'Wanting money ! Why does anybody ever want money ? Why do they not sell out of the Three per Cents ? I sell out of the Three per Cents whenever I want money.' My right honourable friend in a similar spirit might say, 'Want the franchise ! Why does not a man take a £10 house if he wants the franchise ?' In one respect the person of rank to whom I have referred had the advantage of the right honourable gentleman, for I had never heard that that personage, when his friends told him they could not sell out their Consols because they had none, turned round and charged them with being devoid of all decency and morality. But was that reply, which it must be admitted was not very conciliatory, founded on truth ? I contend that it is not. The right honourable gentleman is under a misapprehension as to the class of tenements which are wanting in the accommodation requisite for the observance of decency and morality. I know something of the value of cottages, and I believe that the result of further inquiry would show that the houses which do not afford sleeping accommodation are not £8 houses, on which the tenants pay the rates, but those tenements for which the poor pay at the rate of 1s. 6d. or 2s. a week, or about £5 a year, and the rates upon which are

paid by the landlord. I therefore think that the taunt of my right honourable friend was as little founded in truth as it was otherwise injurious. I pass next to the arguments of my right honourable friend and others about swamping the constituencies. On this point my right honourable friend has not only not proved, but he has even disproved, his own case. He said that in five towns the constituency would be nearly trebled, and that in twenty-eight it would be more than doubled ; that made only thirty-three towns, or, allowing two members for each town, sixty-six members, making about one-fifth of all the borough members for England and Wales. The House was therefore driven to conclude that in the remaining four-fifths of the boroughs the constituency would not be doubled, and in many of them they knew it would not be nearly doubled. Then it was suggested that the question was not merely one of numbers ; that the class indicated by the rents of from £8 to £10 would attract to them those immediately above them, and the two combined would become masters of the situation, and thus the influence of property and intelligence would be destroyed. Now, that argument is opposed to all experience. Is it meant to be said that at present the result of elections in this country depends principally and exclusively upon the class who have the majority of votes? The very contrary is the fact. There is hardly an heir to a peerage, being a man of energy and talent, who seeks a seat in this House without being able to obtain it ; and the landholders and large manufacturers have great influence over the elections. If they have such an influence now, although a minority, why should they not have that influence under the proposed state of the law? Of late years especially, our upper classes have exerted themselves successfully to improve the condition of their humbler fellow-subjects and gained their confidence ; and I believe they will still continue to do so, with the like happy results,

if the franchise be lowered. The right honourable gentleman also referred to an argument used by the honourable member for Huddersfield as being *ignava ratio*—a cowardly reason. I do not know that the House will be much assisted in arriving at a sound conclusion by bandying accusations of political cowardice ; but if such accusations could be fitly made, it would rather be against those who desire to intrench themselves behind existing regulations and fear to commit themselves to the good sense of the constituencies when enlarged by the comparatively moderate addition which would be made by this Bill. For myself I do not share the fears that property and rank are in danger. I believe in the improvement of the people, and I would point to the contrast between their conduct half a century ago in breaking machinery and burning stacks during periods of distress, and their endurance during the late failure of the supply of cotton. I believe that the proposed change cannot be long delayed, and I view that change without apprehension, founded, as I am convinced it would be, upon the improved regard of our countrymen for authority well exercised and property well used, founded as it would be upon the increased education and intelligence of the working classes, and upon that which is the inevitable result of increased education and intelligence, enlarged respect for the rights of others as well as for their own. I shall therefore cordially support the measure.

Whilst, however, Sir Francis Goldsmid joined in the advocacy of every measure proposed for extending the political privileges and raising the social status of the working classes, he stoutly opposed every proposition submitted to Parliament that seemed to him calculated to weaken the supremacy of England

with regard to its foreign relations. When Mr. Gregory moved the House in March 1866 to resolve that private property should be free from capture by sea, Sir Francis Goldsmid said :

The honourable member asks the House to forbid the capture of private property at sea, and he then informs us that he does not intend to stop blockades, or to prevent the capture of contraband of war, although these are the most important cases in which the right of capturing private property is exercised. But even if the proposal were amended so as to exclude from its operation blockade and contraband of war, I think it would be impossible for the House to give to it their sanction, and to resolve that England, which is the greatest of naval powers, shall henceforward be fettered in the exercise of her superiority. The common-sense view of the question appears to me to be this. England is a great maritime State, and should not enter into any engagement by which in case of war her power at sea would be crippled. If a tiger and an elephant were about to fight, it would be absurd for the backers of the tiger to propose that it should not use its claws and teeth, or for the backers of the elephant to recommend that it should not use its trunk, and, if we employ a phrase with which the prevalence of the rinderpest has of late rendered us familiar, to declare that to 'stamp out' its enemy by the use of its feet is unbecoming any animal of courage. The House was told that the proposed step is rendered necessary by the Declaration made at the Congress of Paris. Now, that Declaration embraced four articles, and of these four the third and the last, which state that neutral goods should be respected even under an enemy's flag, and that blockades should only be recognised when they are effectual, are mere recognitions of previously existing principles of

international law. The fact is that the novelty to be found in the Declaration of the Congress is contained in the first and second articles, one of which is directed against the use of privateers, whilst the other provides a protection for an enemy's goods conveyed in a neutral bottom. But we have had the experience of the war with Russia. The Queen's Proclamation, issued at the commencement of that contest, adopted the same rules which were afterwards embodied in the Declaration of Paris, and that experience has shown that, where our naval force is greatly superior to that of our opponents, our commerce is not injured by the abandonment of privateering or by anything else ; but that on the contrary it goes on undisturbed while the flag of our enemy is banished from the ocean. I would now refer to the statesmen of America, who are tolerably acute judges in matters of this kind. An allusion has been made to Jefferson's saying about hawks and doves, but I might remark that, however many doves we might have, we certainly have plenty of hawks who could fly against the hawks of our enemies. I will read to the House a letter addressed on July 28, 1856, by Mr. Marcey to Count Sartiges :

If the use of privateers be abandoned, the dominion of the seas will be surrendered to those Powers which adopt the policy and have the means of keeping up large navies. In case of war between two Powers of almost equal commerce but unequal naval strength, an inconsiderable part of the force of the one would be required to prevent that of the other from being used for defence or aggression, while the remainder would be devoted to the unembarrassed employment of destroying the commerce of the weaker in naval strength.

Such is the opinion of Mr. Marcey on the subject, and his opinion is much more applicable to the facts of the case than that of Mr. Jefferson. For the reason stated, Mr. Marcey declined to accede to the Declaration of Paris,

except upon condition that private property should be exempted from capture at sea. That, however, occurred in 1856, when any war which could be contemplated as possible, though not perhaps probable, was a war with France or England, both being great maritime powers. At the commencement of the late Civil War, the condition of affairs was altogether changed, and the Americans found themselves engaged in hostilities with a power of inferior naval force—the Confederate States. Then the United States professed themselves willing to accept the Declaration of Paris *pur et simple*, and they were only prevented from doing so because it was understood that France and England thought that such a course of proceeding would have given them an unfair advantage over their opponents. When, therefore, we find America, at a time when war is contemplated as possible with a superior naval power, declining to accede to the Declaration of Paris, but expressing willingness to accede to it when war is going on with an inferior naval power, it is not too much to conclude that after all this Treaty of Paris is not so very injurious to a great maritime State. But then it is said that in the event of a war the carrying trade of England would be transferred to other nations. Now, no doubt, there would be to a certain extent a transference of the carrying trade to neutral bottoms, but that disadvantage would not be wholly unattended by what the French term ‘attenuating circumstances.’ In the first place, war brings to English ships a good deal of employment in transporting troops and supplies; and in the second place it should be remembered that after a time foreign ships would gradually raise their freights until it became cheaper for our merchants to pay the increased rates on British vessels. The great objection, however, to all stipulations entered into in contemplation of a state of war, is one which has not been successfully met by my honour-

able friend. It is perfectly true that these stipulations are intended to be exceptions to the general rule that war abrogates treaties, but then, these particular treaties being made for the event of war, how, when war has broken out, can the obligation be enforced? The honourable gentleman said that we ought to rely upon the good faith of our enemy, but unluckily that would be wanting when it was most required. It is an unfortunate incident of such engagements that the nations most disposed to breach of faith are precisely those with which we are most likely to go to war. I hope that we should always observe such stipulations, but I fear they would be observed by some other countries so long as it suited their convenience. Again, it has been said that it is our duty to alleviate the horrors of war. No doubt it is. At the same time it should be borne in mind that this right of maritime capture is a matter affecting property, not life. It is entirely a question between the war ships of one State and the mercantile marine of another. It is to be ranked among the inconveniences, and not among the real horrors of war, which consist in the burning of homesteads and the bringing of death and desolation amidst countless families; and if the right of capturing private property has the effect of leading to the cessation of these horrors, it is an inconvenience to which nations ought to submit. We were told that it is desirable to protect private property at sea as it is protected on land. But is private property protected on land? My honourable friend has cited the opinion of Wheaton, who, however, made exceptions to the rule which utterly destroy the value of the argument. The rule, in effect, amounts to this—private property on land is respected as long as commanders think they can leave it undisturbed without injury to the welfare of their troops or to the objects of their expedition: that is, as long as the hostile commander thinks fit to re-

spect it. If this were the kind of declaration which was required with regard to property at sea, there could be no great objection to it. My honourable friend has referred to the late march of General Sherman, but so far from private property being respected during that expedition it was unsparingly destroyed. At first we in England felt disposed to condemn such a course of procedure ; but when it was seen to have been so quickly followed by the restoration of peace, I believe that most persons would admit that that march, with all its horrors, was a right and proper proceeding, if it contributed, as it appears to have done, to the speedy termination of the struggle. I cannot consent to such a declaration as has been proposed by my honourable friend, because I believe that instead of doing a real service to humanity, it would, by prolonging war, add to its calamities. For these reasons I shall give my vote against the motion of my honourable friend.

The Extradition Treaties Act Amendment Bill, brought in at the close of the session 1866, was objected to by Sir Francis Goldsmid on the ground that the right of asylum would be practically annulled unless a specific clause were introduced to protect from extradition persons chargeable only with political offences. He submitted the following clause :

That nothing in this Act, nor in any previous Act relating to treaties of extradition, shall be construed to authorise the extradition of any person in whose case there shall be reasonable grounds for belief that his offence, if any, had for its motive or purpose the promotion or prevention of any political object, nor to authorise the extradition of any person the requisition for the delivery of whom shall not contain an understanding on the part of the Sovereign or

Government making such requisition, that such person shall not be proceeded against or punished on account of any offence which he shall have committed before he shall be delivered up, other than the offence specified in the requisition.

The Secretary for Foreign Affairs (Lord Stanley) having promised that the subject should be carefully and deliberately considered in the course of next session, and having also agreed to accept Mr. Kinglake's clause to limit the duration of the Act to September 1, 1867, Sir Francis Goldsmid withdrew his amendment.

The Representation of the People Bill, which was introduced by the Conservative Government in 1867, found little favour with Sir Francis Goldsmid, who criticised it unsparingly for its shortcomings and its manifold complexities. He said that if passed in its proposed shape, it would be revolutionary in some parishes and narrow in others. The idea that it would settle the question because, after giving household suffrage, nothing more could be asked, was utterly erroneous. The right mode of settling the question was not to give all that could be asked, but to give what was reasonable, trusting to the good sense of the country to support Parliament in refusing to concede more. The measure was founded on the system of giving by one clause and taking away by another, of keeping the word of promise to the ear and breaking it to the hope—a system acted on to a

considerable extent in the Bill of 1859, but brought to a hitherto unequalled perfection in the present measure. He felt sure that it would be regarded as nothing more than a mere starting-point for fresh discontent and renewed agitation. He could only hope against hope that when the Bill was in committee the House would succeed in bringing sense, utility, and consistency into a measure which at present appeared to him to be one mass of incongruities and mischievous absurdities.¹

Sir Francis Goldsmid was decidedly unfavourable to any movement on the part of the British Government for rendering Crete independent of Ottoman rule. In a powerful speech which he delivered in Parliament on April 24, 1868, he reviewed the course pursued in Bulgaria, Servia, and Roumania since they had become independent States, and contrasted the cruelty and oppression which they had inflicted on Mahomedan and more especially on Jewish sub-

¹ It is worthy of note that Sir Francis Goldsmid foresaw the possibility of the raising of the question about qualified voters, which has so recently occupied the attention of two courts of justice. On May 7, 1867, he asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Disraeli) whether it would not be the effect of the 3rd clause of the Bill to enable any number of joint occupiers who might be rated and pay the rates in respect of any one house in a borough to be registered as electors; and whether that operation of the clause was in accordance with the intention of the Government.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer: It is not, Sir, the intention of the Bill that any number of joint occupiers, as stated by the hon. Baronet, should be placed upon the register of electors. I think also that that will not be the effect of the Bill.

jects, with the tolerance displayed under Turkish rule towards the Christian population.

Compare (said he) the Government of Roumania, or even that of Servia, with the Turkish Government of Crete, so long as the island was not stirred into insurrection by Greece, and who can doubt the superiority of the latter? But to suppose that the state of Crete, if separated from the Turkish Empire, would be similar to that of Roumania, would be to form a conjecture far too favourable. If the semi-civilised Roumans are practising cruel oppression against an unoffending and industrious population with whom they have no cause of quarrel, unless perhaps that the Jews successfully compete with them in trade, what conduct could be expected from the barbarous Christians of Crete, if they became the dominant class, towards the Mahomedans, whose religion has hitherto been that of the Government, and against whom their passions have been inflamed by an obstinate war? The appeals to sympathy on behalf of the Christian races which it is desired to free from Turkish rule, appear to me to be in part founded upon a vague idea that it must always be a right and religious thing to take up the cause of those who call themselves Christians against Mahomedans. I am sure, however, that no such idea will be allowed to mislead the House. The expulsion of the Mussulmans from Servia, the prohibition of the Jews from farming and trading in the interior of the same principality, the outrages practised on the large Jewish population of Roumania, the extermination of the Mahomedans in Crete, and in every other part of Turkey which may be separated from the Empire—these are the results of freeing semi-barbarous races from Turkish rule, the actual results of the process so far as it has gone, its probable results if it shall go further. And these consequences I venture to say that you will agree with me in declaring to be inconsistent

with Christianity, with morality, with religion, and with right. It would be vain to hope for the immediate establishment in Turkey of what we should consider a satisfactory government, but the best thing we can do is to continue to afford to the Turkish Empire the support of England, making it a condition of that support that the Porte should gradually, but with more energy than has hitherto been displayed, pursue the course upon which it has already entered—that of improving its rule, and developing the rights of its Christian subjects until they shall have attained perfect equality with the Mahomedans.

During the sessions of 1869 and 1870 the first symptoms developed themselves of a depressing malady which prevented him from taking a prominent part in the debates, but he continued to attend the House regularly and to vote almost invariably with the Liberal party. In 1871 he was so far recovered as to resume active life and to take part in the discussions on the University Tests Bill, the Enclosures Law Amendment Bill, the Burials Bill, and on the question of legal education. On the matter of appointing civil engineers in India, Sir Francis Goldsmid moved, 'that in the opinion of this House young men qualified by character and attainments for admission into the service of the Government of India as civil engineers, ought not to be excluded from such service by reason of their not having been educated at a Government college.'

He contended that this resolution was important, not only because it affected the competency of the persons to

whom was to be entrusted an expenditure amounting to £7,000,000 or £8,000,000 a year, but also because the arrangement proposed by the Government was a departure from the entire course of the policy for some years past adopted by them, and approved by the House and country. When the rule of India was transferred from the East India Company to the Crown, the whole civil service of that country had been thrown open to public competition. . . . The only possible reason for so wide a departure from the whole course of recent policy would be that the Government could not get the want that had suddenly arisen for civil engineers supplied by any other means. And accordingly the Under-Secretary of State had informed the House that he would conclusively show that the attempts of the Government to obtain the men they required by open competition had failed. Now, he (Sir F. Goldsmid) did not dispute this, but he said that they failed, not through the absence of a special place of education, but because the terms offered had been too low to attract young men of first-rate ability and attainments. Honourable members might say, on such a point as the proper rate of remuneration we must trust the opinion of the Government, not yours. But on this point it was the opinion of the Government that he asked them to trust. The Secretary of State had shown that he thought his previous offer too low by largely increasing it. The rules of 1869 offered £20 a month, or £240 a year, and left the time when that salary might be increased wholly uncertain. The prospectus of 1870 offered £420 a year from the time of admission to the service. Thus the new offer was to the old in the proportion of 7 to 4. Why did not the Government try this liberal increase of remuneration in the first instance, instead of rushing at once to the foundation of a college? Why were all to be excluded from the Government service, however great their qualifications, who could

not afford to pay for their collegiate training £150 a year? He (Sir F. Goldsmid) did not know whether honourable members had had occasion to make themselves acquainted with advertisements of eligible private academies. It appeared to him that the prospectus of the new college bore too close a resemblance to this branch of light literature. The provision in paragraph 25, that each student would be required to furnish his own linen &c. for use in his room, reminded one irresistibly of the usual declaration that every pupil must bring six towels; and though the accompanying silver spoon and fork were not to be found in the present edition, he had little doubt that they would appear in the next. But it was more important that the making of education in this college a necessary preliminary to the admission of young Englishmen to the civil engineering service of India amounted to the announcement that the noble principal had, by an arrangement with his partners in Downing Street, secured exclusive privileges and patronage for the pupils enjoying the benefit of his care. By not trying, in the first instance, the experiment of raising their rate of remuneration, the Government had lost the most convenient opportunity of ascertaining the necessity for establishing a college. But it was still possible to avoid the objectionable exclusiveness by allowing young men educated elsewhere to compete with the Government collegians. The Under-Secretary had intimated a disinclination to consent to this, and an opinion that if it were done the money expended on the college would have been thrown away. But he (Sir F. Goldsmid) had reason to hope that further consideration might have modified this view. The truth was that such an arrangement would afford the best chance of preventing money from being thrown away. It must have one of three results. 1. Men from without might in the comparative examinations show themselves, in a large majority of

instances, superior to the collegians. In this case the Government would themselves admit the expediency of closing the college, and avoiding further useless expenditure. 2. The collegians might habitually show themselves superior to the men from without. In this case the Government would have established the wisdom of their scheme. Or, 3, as appeared to him (Sir F. Goldsmid) most probable, success would be pretty equally divided between the two classes, and an honourable emulation would be kept up which would have a most wholesome effect on the professors and students of the college. The Under-Secretary had spoken of the value of *esprit de corps*. He (Sir F. Goldsmid) thought that its value depended on the meaning attached to the phrase. If you meant pride founded on the consciousness of real superiority of the body to which you belonged, it might be beneficial. But if you meant a vain belief in fancied superiority, it was worse than useless, and might be more fitly designated *esprit de clique*. Which kind of feeling should prevail at the Cooper's Hill College appeared to him to depend on its standard being or not being protected by a monopoly. If he might be permitted to use two old rhymes to express the feeling which seemed to him likely to be engendered in the collegians by such injurious protection, he would say—

No man can Roman lore acquire, or Attic,
Or science physical, or mathematic,
Or Indian tongues, or engineering skill,
Save in the magic bow'rs of Cooper's Hill.

Let the Government guard their new institution against the growth of such enfeebling fancies, and subject it to the invigorating rivalry with other institutions, in examinations conducted by independent examiners.

Sir Francis Goldsmid's resolution was agreed to.

In the same spirit Sir Francis Goldsmid success-

fully opposed the scheme brought forward in March 1872 to give a monopoly of legal education to a proposed new school of law.

He gave an earnest support to the Supreme Court of Judicature Bill, and on the second reading of the proposed measure he said :

Having passed more than a quarter of a century of my life at the Chancery Bar, I still, although having now left it upwards of half of that time, retain sufficient interest in all matters connected with the administration of justice to be desirous of making a few observations on the very important matter now under consideration.

After having dealt with an amendment proposed by the member for Salford (Mr. Charley), he continued :

In my early days at the Bar the prevailing impression certainly was that ex-Chancellors were, I will not say bound, but certainly expected to give, in return for their retiring pensions, constant attendance on the hearing of appeals, unless prevented by some grave cause, such as serious illness. But whatever understanding of this kind might have existed thirty or forty years ago, there is clearly no such understanding now. Noble and learned lords absent themselves if there is the slightest inconvenience in their attending ; and during the last few years some of them have given, for a proper consideration, their services in private arbitrations. This last practice not only has the effect of leaving to them for the hearing of appeals only those fractions of their time which they do not require for recreation, and cannot more profitably employ elsewhere, but it has a more serious consequence still, to which the law officers

of the Crown have probably been prevented from referring by the restraints of official reserve. I, however, feel myself at liberty to declare my opinion that this new usage tends seriously to lower the House of Lords as a court of appeal, and to render inapplicable all that has been said of its prestige and of the reverence felt for it. How, indeed, could suitors retain such reverence when the learned individuals who one day form part of a supreme court are found the next day devoting their time to matters of which any eminent barrister might dispose, and in which the most eminent barristers usually decline to employ themselves, because they prefer a different kind of occupation? The honourable members who contend against the abolition of the jurisdiction of the Upper House in English appeals must feel how hopeless their contention becomes through the very fact that that House has sent down to us the measure under consideration. Those honourable members are, to use a French phrase, 'more royalist than the King,' more attached to the authority of the House of Peers than the Peers themselves. This position of things recalls the old legend about the Pope who, accused of heresy before his own tribunal, found himself guilty, adjudged himself to be burned, and was burned accordingly. '*Judico me cremari,*' he said, '*et crematus fuit.*' The House of Lords has pronounced sentence, not indeed against themselves personally, but against their appellate jurisdiction, and we might well lay to heart the principle suggested by the legend, that when accused parties condemn and pass sentence on themselves, the sentence may be carried into effect without much risk of injustice. It is strange that those who have cited the arguments used by eminent Law Lords not many years ago, do not perceive that these arguments have now become authorities on the other side. For when we find that such distinguished men have by these arguments indicated not

long since their natural leaning in favour of their order, and that nevertheless some of them actually supported, and the others acquiesced in, the present Bill, we are driven to the conclusion that they have been unable to dispute the accumulating proofs of the inconvenience of the appellate jurisdiction, or to withstand the irresistible logic of facts.

After answering various objections to some of the provisions of the Bill and which the Attorney-General promised he would modify, Sir Francis Goldsmid said :

It was not a measure ill-drawn throughout, and of which the imperfections could only be removed by the labours of a Select Committee. On the contrary, the Bill, as a whole, was framed with a skill worthy of the distinguished man who was understood to be its author. He hoped it would be allowed to go to a Committee of the whole House, and he had no doubt that it would be reported in a shape that would make it workable, useful to suitors, and beneficial to the country.

He gave an earnest support to the Married Women's Property Act &c. Bill, asserting that there was no intelligible reason why the Bill should not pass, and thus remedy the admitted injustice of a husband taking his wife's property, and yet not being liable for her debts.

He opposed some of the clauses of the Intoxicating Liquors Bill (introduced May 1874), as being too favourable to the publican.

By the present Bill (said he), it was proposed that a conviction should only be recorded on the licence if the

court should declare that it was to be so recorded ; and if that declaration were made and the conviction were appealed from, power was given to the court of appeal to cancel the order, even though the conviction itself were upheld. But there was to be no power, on the other hand, for the court of appeal to order the conviction to be recorded on the licence when no such order had been given by the convicting magistrates. It should be remembered that for the various offences now effectively punished by records of convictions leading to the forfeiture of licences, the only other penalties were mere fines : that offences of the kind might be committed again and again without a conviction, because in most cases all persons present—for instance, the landlord who permitted drunkenness or gambling, and his customers who indulged in those practices—liked the offence, and did not like that it should be punished, and that it might therefore pay very well to risk, for the sake of profitable business, convictions which, if the law were altered as proposed, would, unless the person convicted were very unlucky, lead after all only to fines. The intended alteration is, in fact, altogether opposed both to the general principles that should guide the framing of penal laws, and to the principle adopted in framing other portions of this very Bill. The right course is to adhere to the existing provisions, under which there is a reasonable certainty that a man perseveringly committing offences will be unable to remain in the trade. The right honourable gentleman the Secretary of State announced a few days ago that the Government saw their way to a measure for improving the dwellings of the working classes in large towns, and he remarked that to provide better dwellings was the most effective mode of diminishing the temptation to drunkenness. In that view I quite agree. But if there be a hope of diminishing the temptation on the one hand, I can

perceive in that no reason why we should increase it in another direction, and I am convinced that we should increase it if we relaxed the stringency of the present law, as is proposed by the Bill. I hope that before the Bill reaches its next stage, the Government will seriously consider whether the provisions for recording convictions are not of the essence of the Act of 1872, and whether it be possible, consistently with the public interest, to deprive those provisions of all vigour and efficiency, as is proposed by the present Bill.

The last occasion when Sir Francis Goldsmid addressed the House in a set speech was in July 1874, on the second reading of the Land Titles and Transfer Bill, introduced by the Lord Chancellor (Earl Cairns), and which had been sent down to the Commons after having passed the Upper House. The object of the Bill was to establish a registry of title, and to place every kind of land on the register with a simple description of the situation and the name of the proprietor. This Bill, which promised so much in the way of simplifying the transfer of land and of saving time and expense, was shown by Sir Francis Goldsmid, in a speech no less remarkable for its lucidity than for the thorough knowledge it displayed of the law of conveyancing, to be even more tortuous in its machinery and more expensive in its operation than the old method. After having gone through the history of the several attempts that had been made of late at legislation on that most difficult question, and having dwelt on the manifold varying

and complex interests that would evidently arise under the provisions of the proposed measure, he concluded in the following words, in accordance with which he submitted an amendment :

I see on the benches opposite a powerful Government which may, I presume, carry this Bill if they like. But one thing is beyond the power of this or of any other Government—to make such a Bill, if passed, conducive to the public convenience. It is natural that the Lord Chancellor should feel an honourable ambition to connect his name with the solution of the problem, so long debated, of establishing in England a really useful land registry. But this Bill will not solve it : and it is much to be desired that the noble and learned lord should, for this session at least, satisfy himself with what will be no mean achievements, the completion of the Judicature Act, and the passing of the two Bills relating to vendors and purchasers and limitation of suits, which are among the orders of the day this evening—Bills small in size, but likely to be great in utility.

Sir Francis was attached to his party with laudable fidelity, not so much out of gratitude for their efforts to relieve the Jews of their disabilities, as on account of his strong natural leaning to free institutions and his identity of interest with human progress. In every vote which he gave in favour of reform, parliamentary, economical, or educational, he was consistently liberal, and the upright and unsullied conduct that marked his public character secured for him the esteem and regard of the minority of his constituents who did not share his

political convictions. Powerfully moved by acts of injustice and oppression inflicted by Governments, whether on a particular nationality, race, or religious creed, he was no less earnest in the cause of the persecuted Poles¹ than in that of his downtrodden Hebrew brethren in North Africa, in Persia, Russia, Servia, and Roumania. Some of his greatest efforts in Parliament were made on behalf of the Jews so brutally treated in some of the Danubian Provinces. Nor were they confined in this respect within the walls of the House of Commons. What he did for his less fortunate co-religionists in countries where they were, and unhappily still are, ground down by exceptional and oppressive legislation, and how he strove by his incessant labour and by his generous benefactions to raise them in the social scale and to improve their political and mental status, cannot be told in a paragraph or two. A record of his services for the amelioration of the condition of the Jews in the East, extending over a long series of years, will be found in a supplementary chapter; and in these patient and exhaustive labours in the cause of oppressed humanity it will be found that Sir Francis Goldsmid has left to posterity a monument worthy of himself.

¹ He had also great sympathy with the Hungarians in their struggle for national independence. On the arrival of Kossuth in England, Sir Francis Goldsmid accompanied Lord Dudley Stuart and others to Southampton to welcome the Hungarian patriot.

The closing part of his parliamentary life was much troubled by reason of the course taken by some of his old political associates, whom the current of party had carried away much further than he could in conscience follow. A deep sense of duty to his country overbore the ties of party. A staunch and consistent Liberal he assuredly was and always had been, but he was above everything else a warm-hearted Englishman, whose feelings were intertwined with the dearest interests of Britain, and he was sensitive to a degree of its national honour and dignity, despite the reckless and ungenerous assertion of Professor Goldwin Smith, that no one of Jewish race and creed can possibly become a good patriot. Sir Francis saw clearly through the designs of Russia, and he was in no way deceived by her professions of religion and philanthropy. He could no more discharge from his recollection her barbarity to Poland, Hungary, and other nationalities and races, than her unscrupulous violation of solemn engagements into which she had entered with the European Powers. He could not therefore follow in the wake of those who, arraying themselves against their country in the time of its difficulties on the Eastern question, assailed the Government in harangues of unmeasured violence for refusing to hand over the destinies of an important section of Eastern Europe to the despotism of an unprovoked aggressor, to suffer the law of nations to become void, and the

breath of national freedom to be crushed out, whilst England was to look passively on and mask her pusillanimity under the ignoble plea that no common tie any longer continued to hold European nations together. Sir Francis was too much broken in health at that time to take part in the stormy debates, but he was prepared, at what pain soever it might cost him, to risk his seat and to sacrifice all personal considerations of private friendship and of party ties, when he believed the solid and permanent interests of the British Empire to be at stake.

CHAPTER IX.

DURING the last ten years of his life, he spent the parliamentary recess at Rendcomb Park, near Cirencester, which he had purchased of the Guise family. The old residence was pulled down, and in its place Sir Francis erected one of the handsomest mansions in the county. His connection with the place proved of great benefit to the villagers, in whose welfare he much interested himself. He knew no distinction of persons : all alike partook of his bounty in the time of their need, and all over the district his name was associated with deeds of public and private beneficence. He devoted much time and expense to works of drainage and to the rebuilding and improvement of the cottages. Under his direction several sanitary reforms were introduced and successfully carried into effect, until he had the satisfaction of making Rendcomb a model country village, secure against the evils which have their origin in neglected or insufficient local sanitary precautions. 'There is not an individual in this parish,' writes the

Rector of Rendcomb, 'that will not miss him. We all thoroughly respected and admired his consistent, conscientious, and upright life.' In the town of Cirencester, to the restoration of whose parish church he so largely contributed, he was also held in general esteem. 'His death,' says the incumbent, 'is deeply felt here and in the neighbourhood by my parishioners as well as by myself, to both of whom he was so truly kind a friend.' The borough whose interest he had served in Parliament for eighteen years regarded him as a valued and trusted representative, and a generous benefactor to all its local charities and institutions. One of his last munificent acts to Reading was the gift of £5,000 towards the new Town Hall and public buildings to be erected in the borough.

A man of remarkably temperate habits, he enjoyed good health until he had passed the age of sixty, and he was able to keep the saddle for some consecutive hours or to engage in long tasks of mental labour without experiencing fatigue. But in later years his constitution gave way under intermittent attacks of illness, accompanied by physical prostration and depression of spirits. Towards the close of 1875 his malady returned in a more persistent and aggravated form, and gradually increased until he was obliged, from sheer want of energy, to relinquish the position he had held in the direction of various institutions for the promotion of schemes of benevolence and of social and intellectual progress.

All that his failing strength permitted him to do was to keep up his attendance in Parliament, to assist at the council meetings of the University College and its Hospital, and to preside over the council meetings of the West London Synagogue. Under his continued depression, life grew burdensome to him, because, as he once said to the writer of these pages, he felt himself unequal to the discharge of the duties which his station imposed on him. His last public act, in the performance of which he met his death, was in the interests of education. On Thursday, May 2, 1878, he left town to attend a meeting of the trustees of the parish schools of Titherly and Lockerley, and on his return in the evening, a tragical accident at the Waterloo Station put an end to his exemplary career.

On Wednesday, May 8, his remains were consigned to their final resting-place in the Cemetery of the West London Synagogue, at Ball's Pond, Islington, and were followed by a crowd of friends and admirers, including some distinguished members of both Houses of Parliament and of the Bar, deputations from the University of London and of University College, the ministers of all the Metropolitan Synagogues, as well as some of the Christian clergy of different denominations. The demeanour of all plainly indicated how sincere was the mourning for him in whom every social virtue was fused, and how all felt, with one accord, the magnitude of the

loss which had been sustained by Sir Francis Goldsmid's death. Sad and sorrowful the mourners returned from his grave, but the tears with which it was bedewed by many in resignation and faith, left behind for them a cheering hope in the Scriptural promise that an eternal spring and bloom would be the reward of that good Israelite in a region of rest and beatitude.

The funeral service was performed by the Rev. Professor Marks, who, when the coffin was lowered to the grave, gave expression, amidst the breathless silence of the surrounding crowd, to the following words :

I am here to perform a solemn and mournful service over a departed brother and valued friend, and not to give expression to all that might be said in his praise. To preserve an absolute silence, however, would imply something like an abnegation of duty, and a want of grateful recognition, whilst engaged in the act of consigning to the grave the head of our congregation and the ornament of our community—a man whose loss will be bitterly deplored not in our own country only, but in every land trodden by our Hebrew brethren. Next to his own immediate family, by whom he was intensely loved, the death of Sir Francis Goldsmid will fall the heaviest on our congregation, which might well take up the lament of the sacred elegiac poet, 'The crown has fallen from our head!' To him more than to any one else we owe it that our congregation was ushered into being; and to him was mainly due the success that attended it in its infant years, in the face of difficulties of no ordinary character. Since that time a new generation

has arisen, but happily, some of the original promoters of the Synagogue live still to bear their testimony to the zeal, the ability, and the unremitting labour which Sir Francis devoted to what he thoroughly believed to be a useful and holy work, and I need scarcely add that his earnestness was not emotional and transitory, but constant and unflagging to the last day of his life. But his large-hearted sympathies were not confined within the compass of his own Synagogue. They were generously extended to the whole fraternity of Israel at home and abroad. His helping hand was felt to be near in every clime, and his powerful advocacy was exerted in the British House of Parliament on every occasion when his brethren in faith in semi-barbarous lands had their civil rights and their conscientious convictions overborne by prejudice, intolerance, and inhuman treatment. Nor did his noble nature halt here. His sympathies were too catholic to suffer his humane efforts to exhaust themselves on any one particular race or creed. In every man quickened by the spirit of God he recognised a brother, whether of the Synagogue, the Church, the Chapel, or the Mosque, or whether his religion was confined to an inward sentiment without any external or ceremonial manifestation. Nor was this with him a mere theory or speculation, but a practical principle uniformly displayed in his relations to his tenantry, for whose spiritual benefit he held it his duty as a landlord to make provision, by aiding them liberally to raise Christian places of worship, just as if they had been members of his own community. As an Englishman his patriotism was staunch, as a philanthropist his bounty was profuse. His ample fortune was valued by him chiefly as an instrument for promoting works of benevolence and usefulness, and for diffusing as widely as possible the advantages of a higher education. Assuredly, no man ever gave a more striking illustration of the trite maxim, that 'property has its obligations as well as

its rights.' Alas ! this good and guileless Israelite has now been taken from us, and the void which his death has caused will not be easily filled up. Still, all is not lost to us if he shall have moved us to emulate the example he has left us, and if he shall have inspired those that loved him best, and who desire to honour his memory, to endeavour to compensate mankind for what death has robbed them of, by cultivating the moral and social virtues that adorned his life, and by striving, each according to his means and to his opportunities, for the solid and permanent interests of humanity.

CHAPTER X.

THE tribute paid to the memory of the deceased Baronet, so far from being confined to his own community, was universal, and the nearest members of his family, and least of all himself, could hardly have been aware of the large place he held in the public esteem. Addresses and letters of condolence reached Lady Goldsmid from various quarters, all ringing out a pathetic lament for the death of her husband and testifying deep respect for his character. At Reading, which Sir Francis had so long and loyally represented, his death was felt as a personal bereavement, not only on account of the political services he had rendered to the borough, but for the numberless acts of public and private charity he had dispensed there. On the afternoon of the funeral, the Mayor and Corporation of Reading assembled, the mace and other insignia being draped in crape, and unanimously adopted a vote of condolence to Lady Goldsmid. Amongst those that took part in the proceedings was Alderman Darter, who said: 'Our late lamented

friend was always ready to contribute liberally to every good work, whether towards the erection of churches, chapels, or schools. . . . In walking into the town this morning, I could not help seeing signs of universal regret—not a shop that was not wholly or partially closed, and the window-blinds of private houses were down. I have not seen any such universal sorrow manifested in Reading since the unfortunate decease of the Princess Charlotte.'

Out of the many testimonies offered to the great worth of Sir Francis Goldsmid by the public press of every shade of politics, the following, from the '*West London Express*,' may pardonably be reproduced here, because it is in no way strained, but portrays the man as he really was. 'Sir Francis was one of those men whose place in the world is hardly fully realised until they are removed from it. His great wealth was to him a means of bestowing untold benefits, but "he did good by stealth and blushed to find it fame." Strict in the observance of his own religion, he stretched out a helping hand to all that needed it, without regard to creed or nation. His wide sympathies, his delicate thoughtfulness for the suffering, and his kindly and genial humour endowed his good deeds with that which robs charity of its sting ; for what he did, he did with true benevolence, and with such gracious courtesy that he seemed to receive, rather than to confer, a favour. The heartfelt sorrow of all who knew him, the deep respect of

all that were acquainted with his name—Sir Francis had no enemies—have followed him to the grave, on which might well be inscribed the line—

“ Write me as one who loved his fellow-man.”’

On the following Sabbath a solemn commemoration service was performed in the West London Synagogue, attended by the relatives of the deceased Baronet. The sermon was preached by the Rev. Professor Marks from the text of Psalm cxxx. 5 : ‘ I hope in God, yea my soul doth hope, and on His word I rely.’

SERMON.

The 130th Psalm has often been employed in times of communal or congregation sorrow, as an outlet for the overburdened heart whilst appealing for divine consolation and help. It has also a prominent place in the liturgy of our non-Jewish brethren, and with the Latin Church the ‘ De Profundis ’ has ever been a favourite dirge. The Psalm opens with a prolonged cry of sorrow, breathed forth in agony of spirit from one on whom some unlooked-for stroke of affliction has fallen, and beneath which the sufferer appears to be tottering, and scarcely able as yet to realise it in all its magnitude. All around the sorrow-stricken psalmist dark clouds are lowering, and no ray of comfort breaks over his bereavement. Nature renews for him, as for others, its diurnal course, but he seems totally heedless of its operations. The sun rises and lights up the universe with its splendour, but by him its exhilarating influence is unfelt. Say, congre-

gants, is this a mere poetic creation? Is it the sketch of a morbid fancy? Assuredly not. At every tick of the clock some heart-broken mortal is wending his way on the pilgrimage of life, whose sufferings are known to himself and to God only. He has possibly gone the whole round of human help. The physician's skill, the sick-nurse's care, and all the appliances of the healing science have been laid under contribution; but all has failed before the supreme decree of Him who hath determined the hour when the lamp of life shall be lighted, and when it shall be put out. When the fatal decree has gone forth and some beloved object is removed from our midst, it might seem that the cry of the crushed spirit, 'Out of the depths I invoke thee, O Lord,' should profit us little, since no supplicatory utterance could annul or qualify the unalterable law, *אני הולך אליו והוא לא ישוב אלי*, 'I shall go to him: he shall not come back to me;' but the psalmist holds that even here there is a soothing and healing medicine in prayer. Because nothing earthly can minister to his relief, nor assuage his sorrow, his spirit cries aloud unto God to fortify him with trust in his revealed Word, and to impart to him the hope and support of which he is sorely in need—'I hope in God, my soul doth hope, and I rely on His Word.' He tells us at the close of his Psalm that he has not leant on a broken reed, and he encourages all who are in the affliction of bereavement to look upwards and to look forwards, and to seek consolation where it may be found *יחל ישראל אל*, 'Let the Israelite place his hope in the Lord.'

If I rightly construe the moral of the psalmist, it is that a true knowledge of God befriends us in our need, calms our sufferings, mollifies the wounds of the spirit, and saves us from falling into misanthropy and despair. Woe unto us if in the day of our trial we find nothing in our heart and in the retrospect of our life that may place us in communion

with our Heavenly Father and open for us the gate of hope. If we fail of this, we have no light, no peace, but are like unto those that wander in a desert where nothing relieves the eye nor cheers the spirit. But not unto him whose heart is right with God shall such utter desolation come. The psalmist does not tell us of the precise nature of his sorrow. We infer, however, that it arose from no ill deed of his own, but out of one of those trials which, in our ignorance of the moral government of the world, we call 'visitations of God.' He whose tribulation is the natural result of his own evil acts will look in vain for the consolation that lightens the burden of the afflicted psalmist. Nothing but inward suffering is the lot of him who in misfortune can find no relief in the verdict of his conscience, nor in the respect and sympathy of his fellow-men. But when our calamity is ordained by God, and when those whom we most loved and esteemed are suddenly withdrawn from our circle, those in whom our life lived, those whose presence was to us day by day like the renewal of a blessing—we are naturally cast down for a while, and a storm will rage in our breast which we cannot at our will succeed in quelling. When, however, the first violent shock of grief is past, and we ponder on the Scripture teaching that 'the good are taken away from evil that is to come,' and when we reflect that our departed one performed faithfully his human work, that he rendered up his spirit unto God ripe in years, ripe in virtue, and ripe in usefulness ; that the affectionate respect of the whole community followed his bier, and that his pure and spotless name was on every one's lips ; and further, when we find something in our own hearts that assimilates with the moral loveliness of the departed one, the words of the psalmist tell powerfully upon us, as we repeat with him, 'I hope in Thee, O Lord, my soul doth hope, and on Thy Word I do rely.' It is then that we rise up out of our sorrow partially refreshed :

we feel that life has still many calls on us ; that we are the centre of many affections and hopes, and that we have yet duties to discharge, and that in order that these duties may be effectually accomplished, we must bring to the performance of them a calm and cheerful spirit. Yes, when the religious lesson of the psalmist tells upon us, we bow our backs to the burden, and we move forwards on our pilgrimage with a lighter heart, and with a renewed grasp on hope.

Now, congregants, we want all the religious aid which the text psalm supplies to enable us as a congregation—to say nothing of the heart-broken relatives of the deceased—to support the grievous loss which the death of Sir Francis Goldsmid has brought on us. If we run over the list of all the men of mark or men of promise in the Anglo-Jewish community, including the whole of the generation that has grown up since the removal of the formidable barriers that shut out the Jews from honourable competition in public life, there is not one name of which we may be more justly proud than that of Francis Henry Goldsmid. That he was a man of distinguished natural abilities, of a large grasp of thought and of a singularly luminous intellect, is not to be set down to his personal merits, since these are the gifts of God. But to him most assuredly the merit belongs of having given to those talents and endowments, as well as to all the other means of influence which he possessed, a noble, generous, and worthy direction, and of having applied them to the most lofty and permanently useful ends. What particularly distinguished him in our age of religious indifference, and therefore deserves especial mention from the pulpit, was his intense love of Judaism and his devotion to its principles. Whilst he was at the head and front of progressists, he desired that every step in advance which Jews might make should be in strict accordance with religious conscientiousness, and that the Hebrew should make it apparent, nay,

clearly evident to the world at large, that a rigid observer of Mosaism and a loyal patriotic citizen, capable of serving his country in every office of eminence and in every post of trust, can and does meet and combine in the same individual. In this respect, I hesitate not to say that in every position of life in which he was placed, whether at the Bar or in the Imperial Senate, whether as an earnest worker for extending to both sexes the advantages of a superior education, whether as an owner of the soil and a genuine English landlord, or as the generous patron of science, literature, and art, Sir Francis Goldsmid has done more than any other man in our generation to exalt the name of Jew, and to free it from inveterate and vulgar prejudices. That he was esteemed in life we know well. Would to God that we might not so soon have had to make the experience how universally he is lamented in death ! I cannot here pass by unnoticed the distinguished mention of his name last night in the House of Commons, and the testimony borne to his rare qualities by a Cabinet Minister, and the hearty response which the remarks received from both sides of the House. In the profound respect paid to his memory there resides an influence which will render Sir Francis Goldsmid even in death still powerful for ameliorating the condition of his oppressed brethren in the East, for which he contended so earnestly during his life. What he was to our congregation, and how its very origin and its infant life centred in him, is well known, and must be deeply engraven on the memory of the few survivors who partially shared his labours to remove defects which ages of persecution had infused into our ritual, and to raise the character of our common house of prayer. As each year threatens to reduce the remnant of his fellow-labourers of 1841 and 1842, it is greatly to be desired that the Council of Founders may devise some means for securing to future generations of our congregants, a lasting record

of the work performed by Sir Francis in this respect. Services so valuable and exceptional, and so well worthy of being rehearsed from sire to son, ought not to pass away from the grateful recognition of posterity.

Whilst the death of that excellent man is a misfortune for humanity at large, for Jewish interests in common, and for the Anglo-Jewish community in particular, it inflicts a loss that cannot be measured by words, a loss that is absolutely irreparable. A whole age may pass away before another man shall arise possessing the same rare combination of virtues and capabilities, and always ready, as he was, to devote his time, his labour, his talents, and his fortune to the promotion of those objects in which communal Judaism has its essential life and its prospective hopes. It is a condition of humanity that some shall pass away to make room for others. But what embitters our sorrow when we think of our distinguished and valued congregant is, that the representative Jewish worthies who are now ceasing from our midst leave few behind capable or willing to take their places. Unhappily, those that remain, with very few exceptions, fail to evince that deep and loving interest in the welfare of Judaism and in its venerable institutions which especially marked out a man like Sir Francis Goldsmid. When a loss like that which we are now suffering befalls us, it arouses an emotional and transient impulse, and a cry is raised in some quarter or other for a public subscription to institute a scholarship, or something of that kind, to commemorate the name of the good brother who has quitted us for his eternal home. We have had of late much, perhaps too much, of this species of sentimentalism, in which each may have a share at the simple cost of a guinea or two. The commemoration which would become us best is that which takes the form of following in the footprints of our illustrious dead, and of proving ourselves as earnest and willing to promote the communal

good as those worthies whom we would fain honour by exhibitions and presentations, instead of honouring them by our imitation and our practice. May the remembrance of the excellent, the accomplished, and withal the modest and unassuming Sir Francis Goldsmid inspire us with a noble resolution to emulate his example ! What we consigned a few days ago to the tomb was only his mortal clothing. The real man is now in another sphere, to which he had long looked forward with faith and hope. If his spirit, amongst its immortal endowments, should possess the faculty of being cognisant of what passes here below, what could rejoice it more than to know that a successor had arisen to carry on and to continue the good work in which it delighted during its sojourn on earth ? Say, O you his fellow congregants, you to whom God has given talents and the means to accomplish great things, shall this be ? Hard question ! difficult of being determined. After all, the nearest approach, perhaps, to an answer lingers in the words of the text, *קיייתי יי קותה נפשי*, 'I hope, O Lord, my soul doth hope.

APPENDICES TO PART I.



APPENDIX I.

Mr. Isaac L. Goldsmid to Lord Bexley.

July 30, 1833.

My dear Lord,—I have learned from Mr. Grant that your Lordship mentioned to him, as your opinion, that it was not unlikely that a proviso excluding Jews from Parliament would be introduced into the Bill for their relief in its progress through the House of Lords. I trust, therefore, that as your Lordship is now about to undertake the conduct of the measure, in which you have long taken so deep and kind an interest, you will excuse my troubling you by previously stating, that in case any such restrictive clause should be unfortunately introduced by the Upper House, it will be the decided wish of my co-religionists and myself, that the measure should be at once abandoned. We are convinced that to remain in our present condition will be far preferable to any imperfect enactment, which should not place us on a footing of complete equality with Roman Catholic Dissenters ; since by such an act the Legislature, instead of removing, would deliberately establish, that which now appears to be merely the effect of chance, a barrier of

distinction between us and the other portions of His Majesty's subjects.

I have the honour to be, my dear Lord,
 Your faithful and devoted servant,
 ISAAC L. GOLDSMID,
 Chairman of the Association for obtaining for
 British Jews Civil Rights and Privileges.

APPENDIX II.

Earl Grey to Mr. I. L. Goldsmid.

East Sheen : July 11, 1832.

Sir,—I have had the honour of receiving your letter of the 9th inst., relative to the introduction of a Bill into Parliament to place the Jews upon the same footing as other Dissenters, and expressing a hope that such a measure would receive the support of His Majesty's Government.

I must, however, beg to decline entering into any engagement upon this subject ; and at any rate I do not see the possibility of any measure being brought forward for such a purpose during the remainder of the present session.

I have the honour to be
 Your obedient servant,
 GREY.

APPENDIX III.

To the Jewish Electors of the City of London.

St. John's Lodge, Regent's Park : June 18, 1841.

Having more than eleven years since taken a leading part in submitting to Parliament a measure for the entire

enfranchisement of the Jews, which was afterwards carried through the House of Commons by large majorities, I trust I shall stand excused in calling your attention to the important service you may now render to the cause of civil and religious liberty, by the support that you shall give to the noble lord who is a candidate to represent you in Parliament for the City of London.

You will recollect, I am sure, the steady and uniform assistance he has given to that cause ; you will bear in mind that, on a recent occasion, when he spoke in favour of a measure calculated only to relieve the Jews from all legal difficulties when elected to corporate offices, for which probably some of you might be chosen in this very city, and which are now, through favour, held by our co-religionists in a few of the provincial towns; he declared that he was ready to support, not that Bill merely, but every measure which would tend to remove civil distinction on account of religion. You will recollect that, as a Minister of the Crown, he has assisted you and the Dissenters generally, by the establishment of the University of London, where you can obtain for your children the highest honours that superiority in education can bestow, and of the benefits of which I know that many of you have already abundantly availed yourselves. You will also not forget, I am sure, that the noble lord is doubly valuable to us at this moment, after the hand of death has within so short a time deprived us of two of our most powerful and active friends, Lord Holland and Sir Robert Grant, whose constant exertions were devoted to the endeavour to obtain justice for their Jewish countrymen.

I ask then, is this not a golden opportunity, when by one act of ours we can accomplish two great and important objects—when we can at once evince to Lord John Russell our gratitude for his past services, and join in sending to Parliament a representative so inclined by principle, so fitted

by great mental powers and high station, to promote on our behalf, not any partial measure, but an enactment which may relieve us from the odious badge of disfranchisement, and enable us to devote our energies, free and unfettered, to the advancement of the welfare of our native land?

I have the honour to be, Gentlemen,
Your faithful servant,
ISAAC L. GOLDSMID.

APPENDIX IV.

From Lord Justice James.

47 Wimpole Street : December 18, 1878.

My dear Lady Goldsmid,—I brought before a council of the Benchers of Lincoln's Inn (held yesterday afternoon) your kind offer of a bust or portrait of Sir Francis to be placed in the Hall or Library, as a memorial of his having been the first Jew called to the English Bar, and the first Jew Queen's Counsel and Bencher of the Inn. At a very full meeting of the council it was unanimously resolved to accept the offer, and I was deputed to express to you this acceptance, and their thanks to you for it.

It will be very agreeable to them to have this record of the fact that they were the first Inn that broke down the old and inveterate barrier of prejudice which had closed the career of the Bar to their Jewish fellow-countrymen. And I have further to add that to myself and to many other Benchers and members of the Inn, who knew Sir Francis, the memorial will recall his great personal worth and professional eminence.

As you have left it to them to express their preference for

marble bust or portrait, I am instructed to say that the feeling in favour of the marble bust was unanimous.

I will say a few words for myself, to thank you for having given me so very pleasant a task, and to express my opinion that you could not have paid a more worthy tribute to the memory of your late husband. I know well from him how very much he valued his having achieved his admission to the Bar, and how much he prized his subsequent success in that which was to him a mere labour of love.

Believe me, dear Lady Goldsmid,
To be ever yours truly,
W. M. JAMES.

APPENDIX V.

To the Electors of the Borough of Reading.

Gentlemen,—I offer myself as a candidate for the honour of representing you in the House of Commons.

Descended from a race, and belonging to a religious community, which were for centuries the objects of persecution throughout the greater part of Europe, and the members of which continued until a few weeks ago subjected in our own country to the last small remnant of that persecution, I am attached alike by feeling and conviction to the great cause of religious freedom.

I hold it to be unjust that grants should be made for the benefit of some particular sects out of the public revenue, to which all sects contribute their due proportions.

I desire that in any measures to be adopted for the extension of popular education the most scrupulous regard should be paid to the rights of conscience.

I think that the maintenance of places of worship belong-

ing to the Church of England, and the other expenses now defrayed out of Church Rates, should be provided for by means more just towards the adherents of other faiths, and less productive of that bitterness and strife which are opposed to the principles of all religions.

The reports of the Registrar-General and other reliable sources of information appear to show, that of the deaths occurring in the United Kingdom, especially in our large towns, a considerable proportion is due to causes that might be prevented by well-devised sanitary arrangements, and by better houses for the poor. I wish, therefore, that the Legislature should, as far as possible, afford to the inhabitants of towns facilities for combining in their improvements efficiency and economy, and should encourage the amelioration of the dwellings of our labouring classes.

The examples of the United States and of France make me less sanguine than are many friends of the ballot in the expectation that its introduction at parliamentary elections would ensure the conscientious and independent discharge of the duties of the voter. But I consider this to be a question peculiarly fit for the decision of the electors themselves. I see no reason why all the constituencies of the kingdom must give their votes in the same way. And I am therefore favourable to the suggestion that the registered majority of each constituency should be allowed at its pleasure to adopt the ballot, or to return to open voting.

Many years ago I entered an arduous profession for the purpose principally of opening a new career to my co-religionists. Legally excluded until last July from Parliament, I have hitherto pursued that profession chiefly for the sake of occupation. I trust that while thus employed I have acquired habits of business that may be of use in the more extended sphere of activity to which I now ask you to enable me to transfer my labours and knowledge, that may especially

fit me for co-operating in that improvement of the law demanded alike by the wishes and interests of the people.

Should you find in the views here indicated a general concurrence with your own, and should you think me well suited for promoting these views in Parliament, I ask the honour of your suffrages. And if you consider me in these important respects a suitable representative, it may perhaps in some slight degree add to your inclination to favour my claims, that my family is not wholly unconnected by property with the neighbourhood of your ancient borough.

I have the honour to be,

Gentlemen,

Your very faithful servant,

FRANCIS HENRY GOLDSMID.

14 Portland Place, London, 1858.

PART II.

BY THE

REV. A LÖWY



CHAPTER I.

TO the biographical memoir in the preceding part will be here added a sketch of the successful and permanently useful action taken by Sir Francis Goldsmid in the defence of the rights to which his brother-Israelites in foreign countries were entitled : a defence which had the widest bearing, since it extended, on different occasions, to the national rights of other religious bodies, and exposed the dangers and boundless misfortunes resulting from sectarian prejudices and animosities.

Fitted as Sir Francis was, by his varied attainments, by his strong sympathies, and by his position in society, to lend efficient support to the legitimate demands of his foreign co-religionists, his labours would still have been isolated and painfully arduous, if there had not supervened one fact, which affected beneficially the condition of the modern Jews, and placed Sir Francis Goldsmid in the front rank of the active, though not always observed, promoters of the welfare of his race.

It occurred through a fortunate coincidence that in 1860, the same year when Sir Francis Goldsmid entered on his parliamentary functions, some eminent members of the Jewish community in France thought it opportune to organise in Paris the *Alliance Israélite Universelle*, a society devised for improving the condition of the Jews in any country where they suffered from the consequences of religious disabilities, or where they required to be raised in the social scale through the medium of educational and industrial establishments. Within a comparatively short time after the inauguration of the *Alliance Israélite*, Sir Francis Goldsmid was invited to join this society, and to accept an honorary office in its executive committee. The idea of combined philanthropic action by Jews in free countries had been suggested in consequence of some events which had created a profound sensation in many Jewish and non-Jewish homes.

In 1858 the Jewish child, Edgar Mortara, had been clandestinely baptised by its nurse, and was afterwards removed from its parents in Bologna, to be reared, under the patronage of Pope Pius the Ninth, for a monastic vocation. It was in vain that Jews and Christians in London and in other places held public meetings and made appeals through the press to protest against this revolting act of abduction; nor was it of avail that Sir Moses Montefiore went to Rome with the object of applying to the Pope for

the restoration of the child to its parents. The Pope remained inexorable.

Amongst those who took an active interest in the Mortara case was Sir Francis Goldsmid. He gave his advice on the question of measures to be taken in this painful emergency, and had repeated interviews with Edgar Mortara's father. He remained in communication with the elder Mortara for several years, and sought in every possible manner to alleviate the life-long sorrows of this victim of fanaticism.

His correspondence on this and similar topics placed Sir Francis in direct contact with men of kindred mind and sentiment. The eventful history of persecuted Jewish communities was henceforth depicted before his view in an increasing series of communications. He found no difficulty in the selection of work to which his influence should be more especially devoted. His immediate attention was given to severe calamities which had befallen some Jews in Russia in consequence of the so-called blood accusation. This insulting charge concerned the Jews of every country, and is fully described in the next pages. His speech on the persecution of the Jews in Russia, delivered in the House of Commons on June 27, 1862, treats of this subject, and will be found in the Appendix at the end of this volume. Highly appreciative references to Sir Francis Goldsmid's successful defence of his Jewish brethren in

Parliament were made in the British and foreign journals. Henceforth he was looked upon as the parliamentary champion of those Jewish communities which were weighed down by oppressive laws and customs. Numberless letters now came pouring in from various parts of Europe, Asia, and Africa, to invoke his sympathy and to implore his public intercession with respect to old or more recent grievances.

But it was chiefly the *Alliance Israélite* which found in him its most powerful coadjutor. The affectionate regard with which he was addressed by M. Königswarter, one of the early presidents of the *Alliance*, and afterwards by his attached friend M. Crémieux, was due to his unostentatious kindness of disposition no less than to the sound and deliberate judgment with which he gave his advice or conducted the affairs that were entrusted to his management. In 1863 Sir Francis was consulted by the *Alliance Israélite* on some steps which were to be taken for the defence of religious freedom in Spain. The victims of persecution were, in this instance, Christians who had subscribed to the tenets of Protestantism. It was considered to be entirely within the province of the *Alliance Israélite* to evince its sympathy with those who in a civilised European State were treated cruelly on account of making a public profession of their religious convictions. The draft of the memorial to the Spanish Minister of Justice, in which the Jews, perhaps for the first time in

history, interceded for the rights of Christians, was submitted to Sir Francis. This document was subsequently printed in the transactions of the *Alliance Israélite*. The *Alliance* pleaded in the same spirit in which Sir Francis, some years later (when lecturing on the Jews of the Iberian peninsula), referred to the duties which Spain owed to the living generation if it would atone for the crimes of its Torquemadas. The memorialists urged: 'Let Spain grant freedom. Let her open her prison gates and liberate the incarcerated Protestants. Let her comply with the supplications of Israelites, whose forefathers, like those Protestants now, had been consigned to the dungeon.'

The friendly feeling that was thus cultivated within the circle of Jews and with the followers of Christianity had many advantages, independently of its intrinsic importance. It strengthened the hands of Sir Francis, and also of other eminent men, when it was necessary to interpose on behalf of Jews who laboured under oppressive disabilities or under adverse treatment. This was keenly felt by M. Crémieux, who in his letter of 1864 urged Sir Francis to form an association in London which should be connected with that in Paris. M. Crémieux said: 'Whilst France was about to create schools in Turkey, and was receiving respectful attention in that Empire, England, the native country of a Goldsmid, should not stand aloof and remain isolated.'

Sir Francis, in his reply to this flattering suggestion, acknowledged the advantages which the *Alliance Israélite* was conferring on the Jews, but he confessed that the time was not ripe for the establishment of such a society in this country. He declared that although the Jews of London were not swayed by religious indifference or personal antipathies, the thing was quite impracticable, because there was, as he expressed himself, 'un puissant obstacle à toute combinaison de ce genre.' In a future chapter the circumstances will be described under which an association such as M. Crémieux had wisely advocated, was nevertheless formed, seven years after this correspondence had taken place. Meanwhile Sir Francis ably and indefatigably aided the labours of the *Alliance*. Considerably more than a thousand letters and documents, received from the British Government and its representatives abroad, from the *Alliance*, from other societies, and from numerous private persons, bear witness to his devoted attention to the condition of his brother Israelites.¹

¹ The Committee of the *Alliance Israélite* stated in their report, May 25, 1865: 'Sir Francis Goldsmid, member of the British Parliament, is one of those valiant champions who always stand in the breach for the defence of human rights. We should have to allude to him incessantly were we to speak of all he does for the advancement of our work.' (Report, p. 13.)

Similar quotations might be culled from numerous letters addressed to Sir Francis by that veteran in the cause of Jewish emancipation, Joseph Ritter von Wertheimer, the President of the Jewish Alliance in Vienna. Of the same tenor were the letters from distinguished correspondents in Germany, Holland, Italy, Turkey, and other countries.

Had his health permitted it, he might have been prompted to give publicity to a sketch descriptive of the work on which he had been engaged in the years of his strength and unremitting exertion. His premature death has cut short the fulfilment of this desideratum. Brief notices of some of his efforts in favour of foreign co-religionists must here suffice. These notices are not solely designed to serve as memorials of his acknowledged worth. They may be regarded as contributions to the history of his people, and they will show to those who will follow in the footsteps of Sir Francis Goldsmid, how, by a conscientious defence of public justice, success gradually rewarded his self-denying and judicious persistency.

The contents of the following chapters are arranged, as far as is practicable, in chronological sequence. They describe his action on behalf of the Jews in Russia, the States of Barbary, Syria, and Asia Minor, Persia, and the Danubian Principalities. A special chapter treats of the part taken by Sir Francis Goldsmid in organising the establishment of the Anglo-Jewish Association.

The despatches which for several years were brought by nearly every mail from Mr. Peixotto, American Consul-General at Bucharest, clearly showed that the example set by Sir Francis Goldsmid was not simply admired, but was faithfully followed by leading persons of the Jewish community in America.

CHAPTER II.

RUSSIA.

SARATOW, 1861-73.—On December 20, 1861, the 'Jewish Chronicle' reprinted from the 'Scotsman' the story of startling proceedings. A number of Jews in Russia had been falsely accused, and convicted without a particle of real evidence. The alleged crime was that they had put to death some Christian boys for the purpose of using their blood in the performance of some religious ceremonies. The same number of the 'Jewish Chronicle' stated that an over-zealous official, who was employed in the Russian Ministry for Home Affairs, had determined to prove that the Jews were murderers in disguise, and were eager to kill Christians in order to satisfy some of the obligations imposed by their religion. This fanatic had, by means of his writings and by the help of bribed witnesses, repeatedly attempted to fasten the imputation of guilt upon the Jews in various provinces of Russia, but the absurdity of his accusations had become transparent in each instance. At length, however, he found full scope for his atrocious designs.

He received an appointment in Saratow, where he brought to trial several innocent Jews and effected their conviction.

Sir Francis Goldsmid, on becoming acquainted with the calumnies advanced against the Saratow Jews, set inquiries on foot to trace the true circumstances of the case. No undertaking could have been more complicated than an investigation conducted in Russia—that centre of espionage and distrust. Fortunately, he was favoured by persons in high positions, who, of their own accord, supplied him with data the trustworthy character of which could not be disputed.

The facts are narrated by Sir Francis in the following sketch, which was found amongst his papers.

In the winter of 1852-53 two boys were missed a Saratow. Some three months later their bodies were found at different times on the ice of the Volga. Suspicion was directed against some Jewish soldiers at Saratow, but nothing was discovered which could be regarded by the local authorities as sufficient proof against the prisoners. In April 1853 a Commission of Inquiry was sent from St. Petersburg by M. Lanskoi, the Minister of the Interior. The mass of evidence collected by this Commission was, in January 1854, brought before the military authorities of Saratow, and before a Local Board which had jurisdiction in the matter. This Board acquitted the accused, one of whom was a distiller, and who appears to have been

the only Jew at Saratow above the position of a common soldier. The informers against the Jews were declared to be liars. This decision not being satisfactory to the Minister of the Interior, he issued a second Commission of Inquiry, on June 5, 1854. After an unexplained delay, the evidence collected by the Commission was in 1858 brought before the Senate of Moscow. On June 8 this Senate decided that the prisoners were liable to the suspicion of murder, but that, their guilt not being clearly proved, they ought to be set at liberty. Against this decision the Minister of Justice protested, on the ground that the evidence did not even warrant suspicion, and that the accused ought to have been fully acquitted. In consequence of the difference between the ruling of the Senate and of the Minister, the question was again brought before the Council of the Empire. Then ensued a delay until March 1860. The Council—disagreeing with the local tribunal, which had acquitted the accused, and with the Minister of Justice, who was disposed to acquit the prisoners; disagreeing also with the Senate of Moscow, which held that there was ground for suspicion but not for conviction—proposed on the same evidence to decide that there was clear ground for absolute condemnation. The draft of this proposed decision was communicated to the deputy of the Minister of Justice, who made the report, containing an elaborate examination of the evidence, and concluding that it could properly lead

to no other result than an acquittal. The Council of the Empire, however, persisted in its first intention. Accordingly on May 16, 1860, the accused were pronounced to be guilty, and sentenced to loss of civil rights and to hard labour in Siberia, in two cases for twenty, and in the third case for eighteen years.

The highest tribunal in Russia had thus encouraged the spread of the same baseless accusations, which in remote days of Paganism had served as a plea for the persecution of the early Christians.¹ Remonstrances against this specimen of illegal convictions were published in all free countries, but they did not then reach the Czar or his immediate surroundings. Russian censorship would not permit at that time the publication of truths and criticisms which might hurt the susceptibilities of men in power. But there was yet another way of bringing the protests of the Jews even into the guarded precincts of Russian readers. The facts of the Saratow case were minutely

¹ Dr. M. Joel, in an excellent Essay on the attacks upon Jews and Christians in the early centuries of the Roman Empire, has pointed out the mode in which such calumnies were propagated. Christians, being compelled through the austerity of the Roman laws to hold their religious assemblies clandestinely, were accused of revolting crimes. The slanderers asserted that the Christians placed before the neophytes a child, which was hidden under grains of corn; the child being then stabbed at random until it died, the blood was greedily consumed. See pages 14 *et seq.* in his *Angriffe des Heidenthums gegen Juden und Christen*. Breslau, 1879. Since these pages have been going through the press, Professor Chwolson, of St. Petersburg, has made interesting references to the Saratow trial in his valuable essay, *Upotrebliaüt-li iewreü christianskiu krow ?* i.e., Do the Jews really make use of Christian blood?

related in the British House of Commons. On June 27, 1862, Sir Francis Goldsmid addressed the House of Commons¹ on this blood accusation.

This speech was well adapted to illustrate the defective course of Russian judicature and the deplorable helplessness of the Russian Jews. But it had a more direct advantage. It carried the appeal for justice to the cognisance of the Czar.²

Sir Francis continued in subsequent years to direct his attention to the legal status of the Jews in Russia. With this object he caused a portion of the laws affecting the Russian Jews to be translated into English, and he awaited a favourable opportunity to plead once more for the poor victims of the Saratow trial. Such an occasion presented itself in 1873, when the Hereditary Prince of Russia visited England. Through the interposition of a distinguished personage Sir Francis was permitted to acquaint the Cesarewitch with the sad results of the Saratow proceedings. In a paper dated July 1, 1873, Sir Francis wrote to that Prince :

¹ This speech is reprinted in the Appendix.

² A Russian writer stated, 'D'après la loi du pays, nous n'avons pas le droit de nous plaindre à l'étranger.' M. Crémieux, on the other hand, said : 'J'emploierai tous les moyens que Dieu peut mettre en mes mains, pour obtenir au sein des nations civilisées la reconnaissance des droits de ce peuple, le plus ancien de tous, et qui donnera tout son amour à la patrie qui l'admettra au milieu de ses enfants. Une nation aussi grande que la nation russe, un Empereur aussi grand que l'Empereur Alexandre, ne voudront pas rester en arrière de la civilisation qui, de toutes parts, tend la main à nos coreligionnaires.'

‘I trust I shall be pardoned if I take advantage of your Imperial Highness’s visit to England, to draw your attention to an event which took place twenty years ago in the town of Saratow, on the Volga, and led seven years later to the condemnation of three unfortunate Israelites, two¹ of whom are believed to be still undergoing punishment in virtue of that sentence.’ Sir Francis gave the Cesarewitch those details which have been noticed in the foregoing pages. His unwearied appeals received at length a satisfactory response, for in the same year, 1873, Sir Francis was privately informed that the exiles had been permitted to return to their homes.

¹ In 1868 the *Alliance Israélite* received an intimation from the Russian Embassy in Paris that Juskiewicz, one of the condemned men, had been liberated, with permission to settle in Kharkow. On the other hand, Sir Francis was requested, in 1870, to continue his efforts, it being reported that one of the exiles was detained in Orenburg and another in Tobolsk.

CHAPTER III.

THE STATES OF BARBARY.

SAFFI (MOROCCO), 1863-72.—In 1863 Sir Francis received the following information. In April of that year a Spanish custom-house officer had died at the age of seventy, after a short illness, and his servant Accan, a Jewish lad, fifteen years old, was accused, without a shadow of evidence, of having poisoned his master. The boy was brought to the house of the Spanish Consul, who cross-questioned him, on the supposition that he had administered the poison. As the boy firmly denied the crime, he was asked whether he had not been instigated to commit the murder by a young man named Elias, in whose company he had been seen in the morning, but he solemnly assured the questioner that he did not know how his master came by his death. The boy was then flogged by a Moorish soldier, and when he could no longer endure the torture, he was disposed to say anything he was desired to confess. He pleaded guilty and implicated the above-named Elias. This young man, who was under British protection, was at once taken into

custody, but on being confronted with Accan he denied the charge. Accan also protested that there was not any truth in his previous confession, which had been wrung from him when he wished to escape further agony. Accan and Elias were then subjected to tortures, and, according to the usual result of such tests, the sufferers alternately owned and disavowed a participation in the alleged crime. It seemed as if the merciless application of the bastinado had not been so much intended to serve the ends of justice as to satisfy the savage pleasure of the officials and the bystanders.

Several unoffending Jews and Jewesses were then on frivolous pretexts accused of being accessory to the supposed murder, and the local Governor appeared especially anxious to pronounce the sentence of guilt upon the wretched prisoners. The voluminous details of the case contain a revolting account of the cruel treatment to which the prisoners were subjected, and of the perversion of justice displayed by the Governor, who in the infliction of cruelty vied with the other officials.

According to the law of the land, prisoners accused of murder had the right of being defended by friends who would act for them as attorneys. Accan's representative, Rabbi Saadiah Rebboh, was indefatigable in his efforts to make the Governor conform to the strictness and fairness of common justice. The mind of the Governor, however, had been made up before-

hand. Accan was condemned to be executed, although his age should have exempted him from the infliction of the extreme penalty, and although the time for an official and searching examination into all the particulars of the case had been insufficient, as was shown by the official defender of the boy.

The final acts of the tragical procedure resembled those of a Spanish *auto-da-fé*. On the day appointed for execution, the boy Accan was knocked about by his executioners before they applied the hatchet to sever the head from the body. Elias had during this trial succeeded in breaking through his prison. His parents and other relatives were then taken into custody, with a view of discovering through them the hiding-place of the escaped prisoner. This cruelty had the desired effect. Elias was afterwards recaptured, and transported to Tangier under an escort of soldiers 'and an executioner.'

The writers of these details did not inform Sir Francis what had become of Elias, but they stated quite enough to convince the recipient of their information that it was within the control of the European Powers to bring the rulers and the ruled of the Barbary States under the influence of civilisation.

Respecting the occurrences at Saffi, numerous letters passed between Sir Francis and the *Alliance Israélite*, and severe remonstrances were despatched from the British Government, warning the Moorish

authorities that these outrageous acts could not be tolerated by Europe.

Sir Moses Montefiore had at that time undertaken a journey to Morocco, and had obtained, together with the thanks of his people, that well-known firman which guaranteed all the benefits of public justice to non-Mahomedans without distinction of denomination. In after years Sir Francis heard frequent, unfortunately well-founded, complaints that the firman had become almost a dead letter. It is, nevertheless, an undeniable fact that the efforts made by the Jewish philanthropists of England and France, and by the enlightened Governments of Western Europe, could not be lost to posterity. The record of such efforts is itself more than a mere biographical memento. It carries with it an urgent demand that the work begun by the Jewish worthies should be continued to a successful issue.

DEM NAT (MOROCCO).—A story of terrible sufferings came to the knowledge of Sir Francis in 1864. Ali, the Governor of Demnat, had determined to make the Jews of his own town feel the crushing effect of his uncontrolled brute force. Their wives and daughters were dragged away from their homes to be exposed to every horror. Jewish men, old and young, were chained down in prisons, or, what was equally terrible, had to take refuge in the mosques, where they were coerced to perform menial labours on Sabbaths

and festivals. Complaints which were made against these outrages were rendered ineffective by the rich gifts which the Governor sent to his superiors. Experience had lulled him into the belief of his unsailable security. Several years before 1864, when a Jewish deputation had proceeded to the capital for the purpose of submitting their grievances to the ministers of the Sultan, he inflicted the grossest punishment on the complainants. Subsequently on a similar occasion he caused three of the most prominent Jews to be murdered, and then wrote to the Sultan that an internecine strife had broken out among the Jews. The principal members of the Jewish community were then incarcerated, and the Governor continued to inflict on others the chastisement he himself so fully deserved. These atrocities had broken the courage of the Jews, and they began to submit in silent despondency to their deplorable lot.

When Sir Moses Montefiore visited Morocco, it appeared to the Jews of that country that the times had changed for the better. Three Jews of Demnat having described to Sir Moses the desperate condition of their Jewish townspeople, they were asked to commit their statements to writing. Sir Moses and the British Consul then placed the memorial of the three Demnat Jews in the hands of one of the Moorish ministers, who promised a complete redress of all grievances. Scarcely had Sir Moses returned from

his celebrated errand of peace and good-will, when the Moorish ministers resented this interference with their prescriptive rights of acting with high-handed unscrupulousness. They continued their tyranny, and reaped large bribes.

The Governor of Demnat assembled in 1864 thirty Jews, and made them sign a declaration in the presence of notaries to the effect that they found it inconvenient to reside in their ghetto, which was hemmed in by sacred places of the Moors. The Jews, so it was now pretended, therefore required to be moved beyond the outskirts of Demnat, where in fact they would have lived in a desert, and under the lash of this Governor. As is very common among the petty tyrants in the Barbary States, the Governor compelled the Jews by the bastinado to certify that he was a benevolent administrator of justice, and that no reproach could be attached to his conduct, except by calumniators.

But the measure of this man's iniquities was full. The complaints, only half suppressed in Northern Africa, were not unheeded in Europe. In letter after letter from the British ministers, it was urged that these outrages would no longer be tolerated.

Sir Francis eventually received a communication from the Foreign Office that the atrocities of the Governor of Demnat had been stayed, and the tyrant had been ignominiously dismissed. The Jews of Demnat had received pecuniary compensation, and

now breathed freely, as though no return of cruelties could ever happen again.

TETUAN (MOROCCO), 1865-68.—Complaints from the Tetuan Jews about arbitrary imprisonment, fatal bastinadoes under frivolous pretexts, and protection to brigands when Jews were the victims, came since the year 1865 frequently to France and to England, and were in no instance left unheeded. The numerous accounts received by Sir Francis of such ill-treatment would appear exaggerated had they not been borne out by the statements of the consular agents of England, France, and other countries. From Tetuan reports were sent which read like some of the romances of the middle ages. A brigand had established his head-quarters near the cemetery of that city. And as the business of death is never at a standstill, this robber, whose name was Aïssa, had incessant opportunities for committing his ravages in that locality. He spared neither sex nor age. There were reasons to suspect that the Governor of Tetuan connived at the depredations, which often ended in fatal injuries, and in some instances began with acts of murder.

Jews of good position in Morocco, who were fortunately under the protection of foreign Powers, and thus able to use the language of unenslaved men, convinced themselves that mere remonstrances with the local authorities would lead to no good result.

Their applications were impressive and urgent. In March 1868 Sir Francis received an intimation from the Foreign Office, that with reference to his representations respecting the disturbed state of Tetuan, instructions had been sent to Morocco to press upon the Moorish authorities the policy of taking stringent measures for arresting and bringing to justice the parties implicated in the several acts of atrocity and murder.

A letter which reached Sir Francis on June 6, 1868, contained the news that Aïssa, the chief of the brigands, had been captured and beheaded.

The restoration of order, so the correspondents stated, had been effected through the humane care and persistency with which the Governments of this country and of France had supported the case of the defenceless victims.

TUNIS.—In September 1864 Sir Francis Goldsmid sent a private letter to a distinguished member of H.M.'s Government, to call his attention to certain acts of violence which are unhappily of frequent occurrence in that Regency. Sir Francis stated: 'In Tunis, feelings akin to those which caused the persecution of the Jews in Morocco have led to the perpetration of excesses. The irregular troops, raised for the repression of the Arab tribes, before setting out on their campaign, committed various atrocities on the peaceful Jews of the capital. As an example, it

was mentioned to me that a soldier, in the public thoroughfare, assaulted a Jew, and was only prevented from robbing him of his dress by the gallant interference of a gentleman attached to the French Embassy.'

Although the Jews were not further molested at that time, much uneasiness continued to prevail, as there was not the slightest moral guarantee that similar outrages would not be repeated. It was therefore urgently requested that the Tunisian Government should be solicited to watch more efficiently over the safety of its unoffending Jewish subjects. But soon afterwards cruelties were committed of a far more revolting nature. The Arab tribes Akara and Oorghamma invaded the rich and populous island of Gerby. Being foiled in their raid on the native Mahomedans, whose bazaars they attempted to plunder, they fell on the quarters of the Jews. The attack was made on the great Jewish fast day (the Day of Atonement). The assailants rushed into the Synagogue, tore up and burnt the scrolls of the Law, trampled the male worshippers under foot, and committed unspeakable outrages upon the women.

The Governor of the island having refused to lend his authority to the restoration of order, the plundering continued for five days and nights, until the robbers had deprived the Jewish victims of their last raiments. This attack occurred at the very time

when the Tunisian Government had announced that the Regency enjoyed complete peace. A protest against these abominations was made by the Jews of Gerby to the *Alliance*, and thence to Sir Francis Goldsmid.

The Jewish writers of Gerby told their tale of sufferings in reserved and laconic terms. They said : ' Unless the Lord will cause just men to interpose, we must soon be undone and destroyed, just as our substance has been destroyed.'

When the report of these cruelties became known in Europe, and protests reached the Tunisian Government, the Jews in Gerby were forced, under pain of torture, to sign a declaration that they renounced all claims to compensation. These treacherous proceedings were again brought to the notice of the British Government by Sir Francis, and on representations being made to the Tunisian authorities by the consul, Mr. (now Sir) Richard Wood, the sum of 25,000 piastres (about £6,250) was ordered to be paid to the Jews of the island.

Similar cowardly attacks upon the lives of Jews in Tunis were repeated four years later. The ordinary course of protesting was adopted. Both the British and French Governments remonstrated with the Bey of Tunis, who sent a sullen reply to the Committee of the *Alliance Israélite*. After alluding to an undue interference with his subjects, he threw out the malignant hint that persons should not approach

those quarters where their lives might be in danger. The correspondence both of the *Alliance* and of Sir Francis nevertheless effected a mitigation in the sufferings of the Tunisian Jews.

TRIPOLI, 1867.—In Zleiten, which is situated in the Regency of Tripoli, the fanaticism of the Mussulman population had risen against the peaceful Jewish inhabitants. The rioters burnt down the Synagogue, destroyed the scrolls of the Law, and inflicted cruel outrages on the Jews. Some of the local authorities were connected with the ringleaders of this riot. It being very difficult for the Jews to obtain redress, the Jewish community applied to the *Alliance Israélite*, and Sir Francis Goldsmid was then, as usual, requested to submit the case to the notice of the British Government. He stated to the Foreign Office the subject of complaint on the same day that the communications from Paris arrived, and on the next day a despatch from the Foreign Secretary was already on its way to Tripoli. The English and the French Consuls were thus enabled to demand the prompt punishment of the guilty persons.

The Turkish Government likewise behaved with energy, and it was especially Fuad Pasha who took care that immediate justice should be done to the Jews.

In October 1867 Sir Francis was informed by Lord Stanley that the grievances of the Jews of

Zleiten had been completely redressed, and that their Synagogue had been rebuilt at the expense of the aggressors. The Kadi and other local officials who had fomented the disturbances were dismissed, and the Arabs had in addition to pay a compensation of 70,000 piastres for the manuscripts and other articles lost when the Synagogue was destroyed.

CHAPTER IV.

SYRIA AND ASIA MINOR.

SAIDA, 1868-72.—In the spring of 1868 the *Alliance Israélite* requested Sir Francis to intercede with the British Government on behalf of the Jewish inhabitants of Saida. The people of that town were greatly agitated by the fear that a part of their cemetery would pass out of their possession. The fear of such a contingency is enough to create the utmost consternation amongst the religious-minded natives of the East, for they who are always more or less at the mercy of petty depredators are accustomed to look upon no property as inviolably secure except that in which their cherished ancestors have found a resting-place. The heads of Saida stated their grievance, that the British Vice-Consul, a Mr. Abela, had by unlawful means acquired a portion of their burial-ground, and they now claimed the restitution of that piece of land.

The case was submitted by Sir Francis to the Foreign Office, which took prompt action to settle the dispute. Mr. Rogers, who at that time was acting

Consul in Syria, examined the several title-deeds on the validity of which the contending parties were at variance with each other. He then delegated a Jewish merchant acquainted with the details of the case to institute inquiries. After the completion of the inquiry, the same merchant purchased the disputed land from the new owner, each party consenting to make a voluntary sacrifice for the sake of mutual conciliation. The property was now re-transferred to the Jewish community, whose expressions of satisfaction and gratitude were officially communicated to Sir Francis Goldsmid.

ALEPPO.—The Jews of Aleppo wrote to Sir Francis Goldsmid in 1869, that although the Sultan of Turkey had promised religious equality to all his subjects, the promise was, in reality, nothing but a myth. The Jews continued to be subjected to barbarous treatment, and were in need of the same privileges which were granted to Christians. The writers from Aleppo stated that Austria, Russia, Prussia, the United States of America, &c., were represented even by Jewish agents; yet the authority of those agents would be far more valuable if the foreign Powers gave directions that the Jews should be protected like the Christians. As matters then stood, the Jews in the East did not enjoy that benefit of justice to which they were entitled. They stated that they were induced by the following occurrences

to invoke the interposition of their influential brethren in Europe.

Simon Ben Shemula, a Jew, having been molested by two non-Israelites, had driven them off. One of his assailants had died, and it was alleged that the death of that man had ensued in consequence of the blows he received from the Jew.

It was to no purpose that some witnesses declared of their own accord that they had seen the deceased eight days before his death, and that he was then in a good state of health. Nor was it of avail that medical men, after an examination of the dead body, stated positively that a latent disease was the true cause of the man's death.

Although the defendant had been acquitted by the judges who tried the case, the Pasha stated his determination to keep the prisoner in confinement and to refer the case to the authorities in Constantinople. No intercession was accepted, and the family of the prisoner fell into extreme destitution. Appeals were now made to the *Alliance Israélite* in Paris, and to Sir Francis in London, to recommend the case to the consuls of the European Powers. The facts were represented by Sir Francis to the Foreign Office, and the subsequent course of events in the East proved that these representations helped to attain the ends of justice.

DAMASCUS.—In the correspondence despatched

from the East in 1870, it was pointed out to Sir Francis Goldsmid that the British Consulate, which had always been popular for its impartiality and kindness to all classes, was now looked upon with a species of dread. It was stated that the dragomans of that Consulate, who were native Christians, entertained ill-will against the Jews, and were suspected of having impressed the Consul with the same antipathies. The informants of Sir Francis thought their opinion to be confirmed by an occurrence which took place in 1870. In the month of August a Turkish policeman (*zaptia*) stated that he had seen a Jewish boy making marks of the cross against the wall of the Mahomedan school.¹ This boy was in the service of a Jew who, being a foreign subject, held a British consular passport. On this account the young defendant was brought to the Consulate to be interrogated. He was cross-questioned by the chief dragoman, and persisted in his denial of having drawn the crosses. Ropes were then ordered to be brought, with a view to elicit a confession by the threat of torture. The sight of these preparations intimidated the boy, and he pleaded guilty. One of his companions was then fetched, and endeavours were made to extract a confession that, by direction of the head

¹ In the year 1860 the Mahomedan populace had marked with the sign of the cross a number of Christian houses which were intended to be the scene of pillage and massacre. This mark was therefore regarded as ominous of sectarian persecutions.

of the Damascus community, he had assisted in tracing the crosses. This second boy, although receiving some lashes, did not flinch from insisting that he was innocent.

The employers of the two boys were next summoned, and they were accused of having incited their young servants to commit an act which might have brought danger upon the Christians residing in that city. The passports by which foreigners were assured of being under protection were then taken from those employers.

These proceedings created great alarm in the Jewish quarters. A letter was therefore written to Sir Francis Goldsmid, and to Sir Moses Montefiore, imploring them to use their influence on behalf of the Jews in Damascus, who could not dispense with the equitable protection of foreign Governments.

Mrs. Burton mentions this incident in her 'Inner Life of Syria,' but she has not succeeded in dispelling a suspicion that she did not quite understand the inner life of those persons at Damascus who, according to her erroneous notions, were 'backed by Sir M. Montefiore and Sir Francis Goldsmid.'

Sir Francis, in transmitting to the Foreign Office the report he had received, mentioned expressly that he had no means of verifying the facts, which had been communicated to him by a respectable correspondent, but that he felt satisfied those statements,

as far as they went, ought not to be withheld from the notice of the Foreign Office.

SMYRNA, 1865-72.—In 1865 Sir Francis Goldsmid's attention was directed to the distress which had befallen the Jews in the populous city of Smyrna through the ravages of cholera. Numerous families had lost their bread-winners, and the local means of relief were insufficient to cope with the misery of the poor. Sir Francis sent a liberal sum of money to assist the widows, the fatherless, and other helpless applicants.

But there came dire misfortunes upon the Jews in Smyrna and other towns of Asia Minor, which no gift of any kind could allay. Every year, at the approach of Easter, the Jews were exposed to the fierce persecutions of the Greek populace, which could not rid itself of the fanatical prejudice that the Jews required the blood of Christians for religious purposes.

Letters full of sad complaints came for several years in succession. The Archbishop of Smyrna, a true pastor of his flock, had admonished the members of his Church to desist from that absurd and fatal prejudice. The name of this prelate was mentioned with reverence by the Jews, and he had certainly earned for himself the gratitude of all who required to be protected from the insult of the ignorant classes. But the inferior clergy of the Greek Church, whose

education is not always above the level of their parishioners, continued to propagate or to tolerate the old calumnies. In 1872 a member of the Greek Church joined a league to drive away the Jews from Smyrna. The first attack was directed against the Jews employed in some agricultural work. Greek women were urged to display their hatred against the Jews by hurling stones at them, and to inflict on them bodily injury by petty attacks. The cruelties increased to such an extent that the poorer classes of the Jews seemed to have no alternative but to emigrate.

The intelligence of these facts reached Sir Francis through several trustworthy channels of information. Representations being made to Her Majesty's Foreign Office, assurances were received from Constantinople that the disturbances would be promptly quelled. But the remedies to be interposed came tardily and were insufficient. The correspondence of Sir Francis and of the *Alliance Israélite* continued for a considerable time for the purpose of securing the complete safety of the Jews in Asia Minor, until in the end tranquillity was restored, and the situation of the sufferers assumed a more satisfactory aspect.

CHAPTER V.

PERSIA.

BALFOROOSH, 1865-73.—Timid complaints of persecution came in 1865, and at fitful intervals in subsequent years, from the Jewish population of Persia.

In 1865 Sir Francis received through the *Alliance* the copy of a letter transmitted from Bagdad. The Persian writers entreated the European Jews: 'Do not let us, your own flesh and blood, perish in wretchedness and ignominy. We are being sacrificed amidst torments which are renewed every morning. We are continually at the mercy of unsparing enemies. Life, honour, everything dear to us, is consigned to insufferable outrages. Slavery is but little in comparison with what we have to endure. In our country a Jew on becoming an apostate acquires by this act the right to be the sole and exclusive heir to the property of his Jewish kinsmen. Jewish widows and orphans are thus left to be despoiled by unprincipled converts. If a Mahomedan kills a Jew, he escapes unpunished. If a Mahomedan witness gives evidence

of the murder of a Jew, the criminal may, at the utmost, be required to pay a slight compensation to the family of the Jewish victim. Besides all our troubles, we are crushed by the burden of arbitrary imposts.'

In the year which followed, these lamentations were illustrated by a series of revolting excesses. A Mahomedan girl had disappeared at Balforoosh, a town situated in the province of Mazanderan. The populace cried out that the child had been kidnapped by the Jews. The Jewish quarters were upon this immediately invaded by the mob, and the Synagogue was demolished. Twenty Jews were killed, two of them being roasted alive. Other crimes usually coupled with such savage outrages were not omitted on this occasion. The Jews then sought safety by the offer to embrace Islam.

Sir Francis Goldsmid, as well as Sir Moses Montefiore, received urgent entreaties to intercede, and both displayed their characteristic energy in mitigating the sufferings of their co-religionists by making representations to the Minister for Foreign Affairs. The British and foreign Governments sent strong remonstrances to Teheran, and the poor Jews of Balforoosh were permitted to return to the religion of their fathers. They were even to receive a pecuniary compensation for the losses sustained, and the murderers were to be punished. It afterwards transpired that the full compensation did not pass from the hands of the venal authorities into those of the despoiled and injured

Jews. Nor were the Jews in other provinces exempted from similar molestation, but they had now learnt to make their grievances better known to their brethren in Western Europe. The subjects of their complaints were carefully recorded in the correspondence received by Sir Francis Goldsmid, and at a later time by the Anglo-Jewish Association. It furnished the substance for the memorial which was presented by delegates of the Anglo-Jewish Association to the Shah when he visited London in 1873.

When Sir Francis Goldsmid introduced the deputation to the presence of the Shah, who was accustomed to see his Jewish subjects in the most abject condition, it was rumoured that the Persian sovereign sceptically inquired whether the gentlemen presenting the memorial were really Jews by birth. He afterwards learnt that he had given audience to most earnest Jews. Those, however, who had obtained promises from His Majesty, had afterwards to protest against repeated hardships endured by the Jews in Persia.

CHAPTER VI.

THE DANUBIAN PRINCIPALITIES.

SERVIA, 1861-77.—It is interesting to notice that the influence exerted by Sir Francis Goldsmid on the condition of the Jews in Servia was of an importance peculiar to the circumstances of the case. He had to oppose political intrigue rather than religious intolerance. The Servian Government had initiated various restrictive measures in order to obtain the political support of the commercial rivals of the Jews, rather than, as elsewhere, to gratify the fanatical zeal of the general body of the people. Sir Francis brought the public opinion of Western Europe to bear on the main source of intolerance, and in this manner contributed to an amelioration of the condition of his co-religionists. He did not live to see the full success of his strenuous efforts, but the clauses of the Treaty of Berlin which dealt with the status of the Jews in Servia may be said to be an indirect result of his labours.

In 1861 the Skuptschina had revived some obsolete laws against the Jews, which were directly opposed to the letter and spirit of the constitutional

charter of Servia which declares that all Servians are equal before the law. The enactments were intended to prevent Jewish competition with the small dealers of the provinces, by confining the Jews to a kind of ghetto at Belgrade. Many Jews emigrated to avoid the tyrannical obstructions placed in their way, and most of those who were left were reduced to a state of destitution by the absence of any outlet for their industry. Some still continued to trade in the provinces, although this was prohibited, but they were thus placed outside the range of the civil law, and open to insult and injury without adequate redress. Several overt acts of violence which had occurred—among others the abduction and forcible conversion of the only child of the widow Mishulam—were brought to the notice of Sir Francis, who immediately drew the attention of Her Majesty's Government to the circumstances of the case. On his representations the British Consul at Belgrade was instructed to bring the matter before the Servian Government, which had not escaped the suspicion of having connived at the escape of the perpetrators of the outrages. Prince Milan declared his willingness, but deplored his inability, to redress the unfortunate position of the Jews, whom the Servians had been brought to look upon as aliens and heretics. It was determined to appeal to the Great Powers to call upon Servia to fulfil the international obligations laid upon her by the Treaty of Paris. Sir Francis,

with his usual activity, undertook to become the medium of this appeal to the British Government, and on March 29, 1867, he put to the Foreign Secretary, in the House of Commons, the question whether any steps in the matter of the Servian Jews had been taken by Her Majesty's Government. Basing their claims to the intervention of England upon the reciprocal duties imposed on Servia by the Treaty of Paris, he gave a short history of the state of the Jews in Servia, and read to the House the restrictive measures of 1861 which contrasted so unfavourably with the tolerant treatment of the Ottoman Government when it held power in Servia. Treating of the causes of such a retrograde step in Servian policy, Sir Francis would not trace it to any actual religious fanaticism, but rather to the commercial jealousy of the turgovatz or small traders in the provinces, who had great influence on the Servian bureaucracy. As Sir Francis well observed, 'It is a selfishness which cloaks itself with fanaticism, a hypocrisy which would be more contemptible than fanaticism if it were not more dangerous.' In the interesting debate that followed, sympathy with the Jews of Servia was expressed on all sides of the House, and Lord Stanley declared that he would address the Servian Government on the subject in plain terms. This debate practically brought the public opinion of Europe to bear on the subject; it was telegraphed immediately to Belgrade, where it

brought some gleams of hope to the oppressed, and produced some signs of relenting in the oppressors. As in numerous other instances, Sir Francis received letters of thanks from the *Alliance Israélite*, from the Board of Delegates of the Jews of the United States, and fervent expressions of gratitude from the principality which was more immediately concerned.

These grateful acknowledgments involved fresh applications, to which Sir Francis was always ready to listen. In 1868 he was again appealed to, that he might frustrate the attempts of M. Ristitch, who was visiting the capitals of Europe with a view to curtail still further the privileges of the Jews by withdrawing from them the rights of consular jurisdiction. It seemed probable that he might obtain a compliance with this demand from Austria, which hesitated before refusing an application from Servia because of the large Servian population in Hungary. Sir Francis directed the attention of the Foreign Office to the negotiations pending between Servia and Austria, and, although diplomatic courtesy prevented any active interference, a friendly remonstrance was offered on the subject by the British Consul at Belgrade.

The exertions of Sir Francis Goldsmid had by this time thoroughly enlisted the interest of Her Majesty's Government in favour of the removal of Jewish disabilities in Servia. At every convenient opportunity, such as the revision of the constitution in 1869, the British Consul was instructed to plead the

claims of the Jews for civil rights, and Sir Francis continued to inform the Foreign Office of all the alleviations or aggravations in the lot of his Servian co-religionists. The Blue Books on these subjects show that Sir Francis was the centre for all communications; he formed the link between the Anglo-Jewish Association, the *Alliance Israélite*, and the British Government. In 1873 the Foreign Office was induced by Sir Francis to add its unofficial support to an important petition to Prince Milan from all the representative bodies of European Jews for the release of their Servian brethren from the ignominious restrictions under which they were placed. This petition had been elicited by outrages which had occurred during the expulsion of the Jews from Shabatz, Pojarevatz, and Semendria. At the same time the British Consul, in reporting on the outrages, remarked that the prospects of Jewish emancipation had perceptibly improved. This was due, in some degree, to the pressure of public opinion, which Sir Francis Goldsmid's speeches had brought to bear on the Servian Government. It is a most significant fact that the Servian Ministry owned, in 1877, that they had caused a Jew to be elected to the Skuptschina simply in deference to the public opinion of Europe. As it had been the Government which had originally deprived the Jews of their civil rights, the efforts of Sir Francis had a more definite object than if he had had to battle with popular prejudice. At the Conference held at

Constantinople in 1876-7 the removal of Jewish disabilities in Servia was advocated by England, and subsequently, at the Congress of Berlin, was made a primary condition of Servian autonomy. The measures adopted by the European Powers to secure the emancipation of the Servian Jews brought to a satisfactory conclusion the work initiated by Sir Francis Goldsmid.

CHAPTER VII.

THE DANUBIAN PRINCIPALITIES.

ROUMANIA, 1864-71.—The ardent zeal which Sir Francis Goldsmid displayed for the cause of his oppressed brethren abroad would naturally find ample occasion for its application to the case of the distressed Israelites in Wallachia and Moldavia, now known as Roumania. Though only recently liberated from oppression by the action of the Great Powers, this principality had learnt the harshest lesson of persecution, and passed on to the Jews the treatment it had received under Turkish rule. The commercial classes, to whom the new constitution had given a preponderant influence in the Chamber of Deputies, sought by illegal and illiberal restrictions to get rid of the too successful competition of the Jews. By an inhuman fiction, even those Jews who had been born and bred in the country were treated as 'strangers,' and by this pretext were debarred from acquiring real property, and from settling in the country districts. Their status was quite exceptional. Ordinary 'strangers' could appeal to the jurisdiction of the

consul accredited by the land of their nationality. But the Roumanian Jews had no other nationality than that of Roumania, and yet were excluded from all the rights and privileges of their birth, though compelled to share in all its duties and burdens, including military service. This deplorable state of things the representative Jews of the more enlightened countries determined to ameliorate, at first by individual efforts and afterwards by means of organised associations. Sir Francis Goldsmid was amongst the first to join this movement. In 1864 he drew the attention of the Foreign Office to a convention by which Christian 'strangers' were allowed to acquire landed possessions, whilst native Israelites were debarred from that privilege. This was the beginning of a continuous correspondence, which remains as a running commentary on the long series of tragic events which have filled the last fifteen years of Roumanian history. The exceptional laws had been originally intended to restrict Jewish competition, but, by putting the Jews out of the pale of civil rights, great hostility had been fostered against the Jews, and a general conviction prevailed that they had no defence against oppression. In the summer of 1866 warnings of coming disasters were afforded by assaults on the Jews at Jassy, Bacau, and Oltenitza: at the last-mentioned place the Synagogue was attacked by the mob. At the entry of Prince Charles into Jassy, the Jews, who had erected a triumphal arch, were mobbed and prevented from

presenting a loyal address to their Prince. At the revision of the constitution, attempts were made to abrogate some of the objectionable measures. M. Crémieux had addressed the Chambers in favour of the Jews, and obtained the concurrence of all who heard his eloquent pleadings. But his visit, like that of Sir Moses Montefiore in 1868, had unfortunately no other effect than to redouble the activity of the opponents of the Jews. The people crowded round the Chamber of Deputies at Bucharest, and compelled the Ministry to withdraw those articles of the new constitution which would have placed the Jews in a less ignominious position. Elated by their success, the mob rushed to the Synagogue, which was one of the most beautiful buildings in the Roumanian metropolis, and in a few hours completely demolished it. No steps were taken to punish the perpetrators of this act of vandalism, and the Ministry seem to have determined to pander to the prejudices they had themselves done much to raise, and to bring back the horrors of the middle ages to the Jews of Roumania. Ever since 1866 continual outrages against the Jews occurred, which seem to have been connived at by the Government, if not prompted by them. The retrograde attitude of the Roumanian Government was clearly recognised by the Foreign Office, when, in reply to an appeal from Sir Francis after the affair at Oltenitza, Lord Stanley expressed his fears that any remonstrance addressed to Bucharest would be of no

avail. Sir Francis did not cease from pressing the claims of the Roumanian Jews on the notice of the British Government, and ample proofs were soon afforded of the extremes of barbarity to which persecution could be carried. M. Ion Bratiano, who professed to be animated in his public life by principles of the most liberal type, had nevertheless made himself the willing instrument of commercial jealousy and narrow-minded prejudice in order to subserve his political aims. He dug up from obscurity certain obsolete laws about vagabondage, opposed alike to justice and the spirit of the age, and directed the municipalities to carry them into effect. Jews of good standing, born and bred in the land, were seized as vagabonds because they were without the passports required from 'strangers.' In 1867 Sir Francis received telegraphic intelligence that a razzia had been ordered against the Jews of Jassy, who had been ejected from their homes, arrested without any pretence of reason, and put in constant fear of their lives. So great was the horror with which these proceedings were viewed, even by those who were least friendly to the Jews, that the Boyards (feudal nobles) of Jassy sent a petition to Prince Charles, protesting against the barbarities that had been committed in his name. On the representations of Sir Francis Goldsmid and Sir Moses Montefiore, the British Government directed a strong remonstrance to Bucharest, and M. Bratiano desisted for a while from

further ill-treatment at Jassy. But the spirit of persecution, once evoked, could not so easily be quelled. Outrages occurred in the town of Galatz, to which the title '*negades of Galatz*' has very appropriately been applied. Ten Jews who had been arrested for 'vagabondage' were landed on a Danubian island, and mercilessly abandoned. Some Turkish soldiers rescued them from this perilous position, but on attempting to re-land them, they were repulsed by the Roumanian soldiery, and two of the Jews were drowned. An indignant protest was addressed to the Roumanian Government by all the consuls resident at Bucharest. Sir Francis Goldsmid used his good offices with Her Majesty's Government, and the British Consul at Bucharest was instructed to address Prince Charles on the subject in pressing terms. Promises were given that the expulsions should cease, but these were mere evasions, and South-eastern Europe remained the scene of acts of barbarity which could not be permitted to continue within the borders of civilisation. Sir Francis Goldsmid resolved to bring these excesses to the bar of public opinion, and on April 24, 1868, he submitted the subject to the notice of the House of Commons during the debate on Crete.¹ He gave a luminous outline of the case, and received from Lord Stanley full assurance of the sympathy of the Government with the cause Sir Francis had at heart. These expressions of European dissatisfaction

¹ The speech will be found in the Appendix.

caused a lull in the storm, which, however, on October 3 of the same year, broke out again with renewed violence. A trivial accident caused an attack upon the Jews at Galatz, the four Synagogues of the town were profaned and destroyed, and nearly one hundred Jews wounded. Shortly after, M. Bratiano retired from the Government, owing to the ill-will with which his countrymen regarded him for having brought down upon their head such public expressions of the disapproval of Europe as had been elicited by Sir Francis Goldsmid in the House of Commons.

M. Cogalniceano, his successor, did not mend matters. He had previously shown some signs of sympathy with the oppressed, but the support of the *bourgeoisie* could only be secured by continuing the severities.

Similar expulsions recurred during the years 1869-71. Roman, Vaslui, Tutova, Covurlui, Falcui, Tecuciu, and Bacau were successively the scenes of heart-rending acts of tyranny and oppression. These barbarous acts were defended by specious pleas in the Roumanian Chambers, and M. Cogalniceano seemed rather to apologise for too great leniency than for excessive severity. In the complicated affairs of Eastern Europe any decisive action on the part of the Great Powers was impossible, owing to the wide issues involved. All that could be done was to express indignation, and Sir Francis made it his aim that the opinion of England should reach the Roumanian

Ministry at every stage of its downward course. In the Blue Book which was subsequently published on the persecutions of the Jews in Servia and Roumania, nearly one hundred letters from Sir Francis attest his untiring zeal and interest. In many cases he supplied the Foreign Office with valuable information concerning the Roumanian Jews, and very frequently the British Consul received official instructions which were based on documents supplied by Sir Francis Goldsmid.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE DANUBIAN PRINCIPALITIES.

ROUMANIAN COMMITTEE, 1872-76.—The preceding years, fertile in ministerial circulars for the expulsion of Jewish families from their domiciles in Roumania, had wrought in that principality all the mischief and misery which intolerant and precipitate legislation can beget. The Roumanian Ministers behaved towards the Jews like those incapable schoolmasters who, instead of giving their attention to the art of imparting useful knowledge, grow furious on account of their own incapacity, and administer daily rations of flogging to their ill-taught pupils. One district after another had become notorious for 'Roumanian outrages,' and still the Ministers justified their proceedings by stating that those 'strangers,' who would never amalgamate with the native peasantry, appealed to their co-religionists abroad instead of submitting their grievances to the tribunals at home. Yet the same tribunals treated the complaints of the Jews with disregard and insolent derision. The Government had asserted, with an amount of

truth which did not disguise a mental reservation, that intolerance on the score of religion was unknown in Roumania, and that any repressive measures which had been adopted were merely designed to serve either for economic and commercial purposes or for the purification of Roumanian morals.

In considering this state of things Sir Francis Goldsmid was solicitous that help should be afforded by various public bodies to his efforts for remedying the growing misfortunes of his co-religionists in Roumania. His excellent intentions were favoured by various fortuitous circumstances.

The Government of the United States of America, to signify its abhorrence of the barbarities to which the Roumanian Jews were being subjected, had appointed Mr. B. F. Peixotto, a Jewish gentleman from San Francisco, to the office of the American Consulate in Roumania. This appointment, honourable to the sense of justice of the American people, had several great advantages. It united the American Jews with their European co-religionists in philanthropic undertakings, and it placed in a country where the Jews had no chance of pleading for themselves, a gentleman full of zeal for the rights of his suffering brethren.

Mr. Peixotto kept the Jewish communities of London, Paris, Berlin, and Vienna acquainted with every occurrence in which the condition of the Roumanian Jews was concerned. Owing to the corre-

spondence carried on with Mr. Peixotto, Sir Francis was enabled to take active measures in the interest of the Jews in Roumania.

The year 1872 had commenced in that country with a series of crimes and misdirections of official power, as a natural result of the persecutions let loose by the Roumanian Ministers, and against which, long before that year, protests had been made to the British Government by Sir Francis Goldsmid, by the members of the Rothschild family, by Sir Moses Montefiore, and by the late Sir David Salomons.

In January 1872 troubles began at Ismail¹ in Bessarabia, a town containing a population of eight hundred Jewish families.

A Lithuanian convert from Judaism had committed a robbery in the cathedral of that town, and when discovered he incriminated the local rabbi and several respectable Jews, who were at once taken into custody. A riot ensued, a number of Jewish houses were destroyed, and the defenceless inhabitants ill-treated. The prefect, though forewarned, remained indifferent when the tumult burst forth. He would not even be disturbed whilst enjoying his game of cards. The police remained inactive, and terror reigned in the Jewish quarter. A commissioner from Bucharest, having

¹ The facts connected with the outrages at Ismail are here briefly alluded to, and are specimens of numerous similar cases mentioned in Sir Francis Goldsmid's correspondence and in publications of the time. These occurrences influenced him in acts of granting munificent relief to the sufferers and of seeking to ameliorate their condition.

investigated the case, did not find that any guilt could be laid to the charge of the Jews, yet the Government was slow in divulging the secret that the incriminated persons were innocent.

The Jewish prisoners of Ismail were then tried at Buseu. The prosecutor stated expressly that he did not believe that the fellow-prisoners of the actual thief were guilty. The jury, twelve ignorant and stolid peasants, seemed to imagine that as the prisoners at the bar were Jews, a verdict of guilt ought to be pronounced under all circumstances. Such a verdict was accordingly given. The actual delinquent was condemned to five years' imprisonment, and his fellow-prisoners to three years each. In addition, a fine was imposed on them to compensate the plaintiff (a Greek priest) for the losses he had sustained.¹ The consequence of this perversion of justice was that other riots followed in rapid succes-

¹ A very able account of the proceedings was given in 1872 by Mr. Israel Davis, M.A., in the publication '*The Jews in Roumania; a short Statement of their recent History and present Situation*. Second edition, revised and augmented; with a preface by Jacob Waley, M.A.' This pamphlet was supplemented by a sequel containing *An Account of the Proceedings at the Trial of the Jews at Buseu*, translated from the *Rumanische Post* for the Roumanian Committee. Miss Anna Maria Goldsmid translated from the French version of the original Hebrew an interesting and historically valuable essay, entitled *Persecution of the Jews of Roumania, by a Friend of his Country, his People, and of Liberty*. A complete exposition of the proceedings in which Sir Francis took for so many years an active part was given in *La Situation des Israélites en Turquie, en Serbie et en Roumanie, par Isidore Loeb*. Paris, 1877.

sion. In Roumania such misdeeds were defended or treated lightly, if not ignored. But they could never be permitted to escape the cognisance of public opinion in countries where every subject is placed under the impartial and equitable protection of the law. According to a notice given in the House of Commons, Sir Francis brought the affairs of the Jews in the Danubian Principalities to the consideration of Parliament.

His speech, which is appended to this volume, placed the claims and grievances of the Roumanian Jews clearly and graphically before the public, and was of the utmost service whenever similar topics respecting the Jews were discussed in England and in foreign countries.¹

As the Anglo-Jewish Association was not yet sufficiently established in public estimation, and could not afford to the Roumanian Jews that assistance which was needed, a distinct committee was formed, of which the Council of the Association was the nucleus. This new Committee was designated the Roumanian Committee. It commenced its work on April 14, 1872, under the permanent chairmanship of Sir Francis, and was required by a special resolution to invite the co-operation of Jewish bodies in Europe and America, for the purpose of acting jointly in those

¹ His well-timed remarks were ably supported by the following members: Mr. Richard, Lord Enfield, Mr. Wheelhouse, Mr. Muntz, Mr. Serjeant Simon, Mr. Dixon, and Mr. Whitwell.

matters which concerned the Roumanian Jews. It happened at this juncture that the ' Jewish Alliance ' was formed in Vienna, under the efficient presidency of Joseph Ritter von Wertheimer. This gentleman entered at once into an active correspondence with the Jewish Society in London. Under the chairmanship of Sir Francis Goldsmid, the Roumanian Committee could not fail to enjoy general confidence, and to retain the same, through this judicious direction of public business. On the ground of a suggestion made by Mr. Serjeant Simon at one of the meetings of the Roumanian Committee, Sir Francis wrote (on behalf of himself and other Jewish members of Parliament whose concurrence he had obtained) to Earl Granville, Minister for Foreign Affairs, to point out the dangers which threatened the Roumanian Jews, amidst a fanatical Greek population, at the approaching festival of Passover. In conformity with this letter a telegram was sent from the Foreign Office to Mr. Green, the British Consul at Bucharest, to convey the necessary communication to the Government of Prince Charles. The British representatives at Paris, Berlin, Vienna, St. Petersburg, and Rome had likewise been instructed by Lord Granville to urge upon the respective Governments the need for similar action.

This Roumanian Committee, which worked strenuously for more than four years, promised to aid Mr. Peixotto in his mission, and sought to effect by persistent remonstrances a cessation of hostilities, which

the law-makers and law-breakers of Roumania were carrying on against their Jewish fellow countrymen.

As a first practical step, the Roumanian Committee arranged to convene a public meeting under the presidency of the Lord Mayor of the City of London. In this highly successful work, which threw upon Sir Francis a laborious correspondence, he was well aided by Mr. Henry A. Isaacs, C.C., by Mr. Herbert G. Lousada, Hon. Secretary, by Mr. Israel Davis, M.A., and by other members of the Committee. The memorable Mansion House meeting, 'to protest against the outrages committed on the Jews in Roumania as a disgrace to modern civilisation, and to sympathise deeply with the sufferers,' took place on May 30, 1872, and was attended by high dignitaries of the Church, and by others who took the lead in great and philanthropic movements.¹

The effective speeches delivered on that occasion were more than mere displays of masterly eloquence. They received respectful attention throughout Europe and in America, and encouraged the Jews in civilised countries to pursue without intermission the course of public appeals for the protection of their ill-treated brethren in the Danubian Principalities.

The Mansion House meeting thanked the Govern-

¹ The meeting was successively addressed by Alderman Lawrence, M.P., the Earl of Shaftesbury, Mr. Crawford, M.P., the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, the Lord Mayor, Mr. Kirkman Hodgson, M.P., Mr. Edward Baines, M.P., Sir T. Fowell Buxton, Sir Francis Goldsmid, M.P., and Mr. Alfred de Rothschild.

ment for the aid already given to the Roumanian Jews, and appointed a deputation to wait upon the Minister for Foreign Affairs, in order to solicit him to obtain the co-operation of the guaranteeing Powers in remonstrating with the Government of Roumania.

This deputation was received by Earl Granville on June 7. The Earl of Shaftesbury, who introduced the deputation, spoke on the attitude assumed by Roumania, and on the duty of the Powers to intercede in favour of the Jews, although Russia had declared its intention not to interfere in the matter; and Sir Francis Goldsmid having spoken on the same subject, Lord Granville assured the deputation of the good and earnest intentions of the British Government to aid in putting an end to the disgraceful outrages. With regard to the action expected to be taken by the foreign Powers, he stated his opinion subsequently at a private interview with the members of the deputation.

Soon after these proceedings Sir Francis Goldsmid received proofs of the sympathy awakened by these well-timed demonstrations. In Holland Catholics and Protestants joined in protesting against the hardships which were inflicted on the Jews of Roumania. At the same time letters were addressed to Sir Francis by men of high position among the Jewish communities abroad who wished to join in the work he had so much at heart.

In August of that year Professor Lazarus, of Berlin,

proposed to Sir Francis to hold an international Jewish Conference, in order to consider the best means of ameliorating the condition and prospects of the Jews in Roumania.

Sir Francis cordially approved of this proposal, which, indeed, met with universal acceptance. The Conference was held at Brussels on October 29 and 30, and was attended by Sir Francis Goldsmid and Mr. F. D. Mocatta on behalf of the Roumanian Committee in London. Nearly every country where the subjects of the land enjoy freedom sent its delegates; from Roumania also several representatives came to Brussels. America was represented in the person of Mr. Consul Peixotto. The delegates deliberated on the best means of securing to the Roumanian Jews their civil and political rights, and of raising the Roumanian Jews socially, civilly, and intellectually. The Conference appointed a permanent Executive Committee which had its seat in Vienna. The correspondence which ensued between the Vienna Committee and Sir Francis Goldsmid proved to be extremely useful. The task of promoting secular education among the Jews in Roumania was taken up with great earnestness in Vienna, and most liberally encouraged by Sir Francis both in words and deeds. In a series of letters to Sir Francis Mr. Peixotto advocated this subject, and successfully founded the Roumanian Zion Society which devoted especial attention to the maintenance of schools. Of this

Society Sir Francis Goldsmid was made an honorary member, and repeatedly received its thanks.

From the time when the Conference met at Brussels till the beginning of 1875, Sir Francis was indefatigable in directing the business of the Roumanian Committee. But the work became more and more arduous in consequence of the unrelenting severity with which the Government of Roumania proceeded against the Jewish population, many of whom were deprived of their homes and of all means of subsistence.

On January 31, 1875, Sir Francis presided for the last time at the meetings of the Roumanian Committee. His health did not permit him to attend the subsequent meetings. But he had done his work with his habitual thoroughness, and had surrounded himself with faithful coadjutors, who continued the labours he had begun until October 26, 1876, when the work of the Roumanian Committee was re-transferred to the Anglo-Jewish Association.

CHAPTER IX.

THE ANGLO-JEWISH ASSOCIATION,

1871-78.

THE preceding chapters have amply shown that Sir Francis gave his unqualified support to the *Alliance Israélite*, in accordance with his conviction that a Jew is bound to sustain, as much as he can, the loyal assertion of freedom, and the generous diffusion of useful, elevating knowledge. In 1871 he proved his willingness to apply this principle to the formation of the Society the title of which is given at the head of this chapter.

The circumstances which induced him and many of his friends to initiate this movement will ever be of historical interest. They were lucidly stated in his speech at the inaugural meeting of the Anglo-Jewish Association. A portion of his observations will be reproduced in this chapter, and they show at the present time, when tested by the experience of intervening years, how opportunely he and those associated with him had acted in seeking to cement a close union between the English Jews and their foreign brethren,

even whilst strengthening the patriotic tie which attaches the Jew to his native land.

The French Jews, as though making a votive offering of gratitude for the liberty they shared with their fellow-citizens, fondly supported their *Alliance*. They procured for it adherents in other countries, and principally in Germany, where a large number of Jews are able to read the periodical reports of the *Alliance* without having recourse to translations. But times had changed for the worse. The invasion of France by the Germans in 1870 seemed to have exhausted the political power and the financial resources of that country. It was feared that the *Alliance Israélite* would never again be able to continue its former philanthropic enterprises. Of the 80,000 Jews who before the outbreak of the war gloried in the name of Frenchmen, 40,000 were reckoned amongst the inhabitants of the provinces annexed to Germany. In so far as the German Jews were concerned, it was apprehended that they would, for some time at least, sever their connection from the parent body at Paris.

During this crisis, as, indeed, long before the occurrence of political complications, Dr. Benisch had sounded the alarm in his journal, the 'Jewish Chronicle.' From week to week he had warned the Jewish public against the dangers of apathy and selfish isolation. He depicted in true and vivid colours the precarious condition of those communities which hitherto had

been aided, politically and educationally, by the *Alliance Israélite*. In Sir Francis Goldsmid Dr. Benisch found the man whose sympathies soon passed from earnest feeling to well-considered action. Sir Francis promised his co-operation, and was instrumental in securing for the presidency of the proposed Society the late Mr. Jacob Waley, Professor of Social Economy at the London University College. This was a happy choice, Mr. Waley being held in universal esteem for his acute discernment, professional and general erudition, exquisite refinement of manners, and ardent attachment to the best interests of his community.

Sir Francis promised to move the principal resolution at the public meeting which was to be held for the formation of the new Society; but primarily the consensus of the parent body in Paris was to be received to the new organisation, which aimed not at rivalling but at usefully emulating the work performed by the *Alliance*. The touching replies received from Paris bear the impress of the trying time, and as they retain a permanent interest, the essential passages are here subjoined.¹

¹ Dr. S. A. Goldschmidt, Vice-President of the *Alliance Israélite*, wrote on the proposed inaugural proceedings:

‘Never was a meeting better timed than this. The miseries that have fallen on poor Paris have had their effect on the *Alliance*. I give some figures. Just before the war the *Alliance* was very flourishing. We had upwards of 1,000 adherents in Paris alone; most of them, it is true, giving only the smallest sum, six francs per annum. The last balance-sheet made up is of September 20, 1870. On that date

At length, on July 7, 1871, a public meeting was assembled at the Committee Room of the West-

we had a reserve of 50,000 francs, and notwithstanding our large expenditure for our schools—viz. 20,000 francs for the preparatory school in Paris, and 35,000 francs for the different schools in the East—the year from September 1869 to September 1870 showed a small surplus of about 5,000 francs.

‘Now, since September 20, 1870, to June 1871, the receipts were 600 francs, and the expenses full 35,000 francs, so that our reserve fund dwindled down to 20,000 francs ; less 3,600 francs owing to the agricultural school at Jaffa, which that establishment of course cannot repay. At present we stand with 12,000 francs reserve, with fixed engagements for teachers, employés, rents, &c., of nearly 80,000 francs per annum. We must of course reduce our expenditure, and give up the preparatory school at Paris, if need be, but this cannot be done at a moment’s notice.

‘The collection of subscriptions current and in arrear began recently, and we cannot tell as yet how it will turn out. It is a slow and laborious affair to collect so many small sums. Besides, by the separation of Alsace and Metz, one half of the French Jews have ceased to be French. . . . I am ashamed to blacken so much paper, but I cannot help feeling somewhat enthusiastic about the *Alliance* when I consider what it might be and do, if all Jews, with their vast wealth and their abundance of intellect, would work together. More than five millions of oppressed poor and benighted Jews are dispersed over Europe, Africa, and Asia, and some hundred thousands are civilised and wealthy. Are these selfishly to enjoy their good fortune and do nothing to alleviate the misery of the millions ?’

MM. Leven and Loeb wrote at the time on behalf of the *Comité Central* of the *Alliance* as follows :—‘We are glad to learn that, thanks to your persevering exertions, the success of your project, with which we heartily concur, is on the point of accomplishment. We had long desired to see a Central Committee of the *Alliance* constituted in England ; and in this realisation of our most ardent hopes you have a claim to our entire gratitude.

‘You have felt that the Jews of England, who are so generous, so devoted to all useful and fruitful ideas, should not remain almost dissociated from the great work which we had the happiness of establishing, and in which we are but the humble labourers.

‘The concurrence of our dear English brethren will, we doubt not,

minster Jews' Free School. Professor Waley occupied the chair, and Sir Francis Goldsmid, being ably supported by Mr. Serjeant Simon, M.P., and other well-known members of the community, moved—'That an Anglo-Jewish Association be constituted for the promotion of objects pursued by the *Alliance Israélite Universelle*, and for co-operation therewith.' He continued :

Strong as are the reasons for the establishment of the proposed Society, I should nevertheless have hesitated to take part in it if there had been the least ground for apprehending that the *Alliance Israélite* of Paris would consider that we were availing ourselves of the moment of its weakness in order to usurp its functions or to thrust ourselves into its sphere of utility. But there is no such ground of apprehension. On the contrary, the communications received by the chairman from the *Alliance Israélite* showed that it would view with the greatest pleasure the formation of the intended Society, and would feel that we were holding out to the *Alliance* a helping hand at a time when such aid was urgently required.

I have received a communication to the same effect, in which I have been requested to attend this meeting and to speak on behalf of the *Alliance*. The impressive remarks of the chairman have sufficiently shown how assiduous had been the labours, how varied and useful the objects of the Society with which we desire to co-operate. I would only add on this head, that having frequently had to act at the give a new impetus to the movement, and will cause it to prosper signally for the happiness of our oppressed co-religionists and for the honour of Judaism.

'We are writing to Sir Francis Goldsmid as you propose. All the resolutions which are to be moved at your meeting we think excellent.'

request of the *Alliance* in bringing matters of interest before the British Government and the House of Commons, I had opportunities of seeing that these matters were handled by our French brethren with a tact and judgment equal to their energy and zeal. The diminution of the influence of the *Alliance Israélite*, caused by a large proportion of men who had been French Jews being transferred to Germany, is, I fear, irreparable. But we may rely on the wonderful courage and elasticity of Frenchmen to do whatever could be done to repair their losses, and to us it must be a source of the greatest satisfaction to give to such efforts every help in our power.

If we, happy in our own material prosperity, in the prosperity and influence of our country, and in our political freedom, thought it enough to enjoy these advantages in selfish isolation, instead of hastening to employ them for the benefit of our brethren abroad, who might be in adversity, whose social and political condition might be depressed, whose communities might be persecuted, we should be unworthy of the name of Israelites. I am convinced that we should seek no such isolation, but that on the contrary we should do our utmost to raise the ignorant, to succour the distressed, and to co-operate with those who are already engaged in efforts for such sacred purposes. I conclude by formally moving the resolution.

Sir Francis conformed strictly and in a munificent manner to the resolution he had moved at the public meeting. To show that the *Alliance* would gain by the establishment of the new Association, and to extricate the *Alliance* from the apprehensions of pecuniary embarrassments, he sent at that time £500 as a contribution to its funds.

The Anglo-Jewish Association was now fairly launched. Its increasing prosperity was attributable to the solicitude with which Sir Francis Goldsmid, together with others, aided its progress. He was one of those who placed the Association on a permanent footing, and he invariably showed that the Jews, whilst requiring equitable treatment, do not refuse to others what they demand for themselves.

In June 1873 a dark cloud came upon the Anglo-Jewish Association. Its first President was removed from a life of labour and honour. Sir Francis then advised that Baron Henry de Worms should be asked to be the successor of Mr. Jacob Waley.

Sir Francis was particularly anxious to see that the Education Fund of the Anglo-Jewish Association should be well supported, and he therefore gave a munificent donation which induced others to follow his example. A few days before his death he presented the Anglo-Jewish Association with £100, to form a nucleus fund for encouraging teachers to devote themselves to tuition in the East, a task which in barbarous lands is more laborious and usually less remunerative than in civilised countries. At that time he mentioned to the writer of these lines that his physical strength was declining, and he requested that a letter should be published in the daily papers containing certain communications which concerned the liberty of the Roumanian Jews. This wish was fulfilled. The letter appeared in the public journals

within a few days after the death of Sir Francis. A reprint of that letter has received its fit place at the end of this volume, where it adds its testimony to the facts that Sir Francis Goldsmid lived to do good, and that his desire to render services to his fellow-men went far beyond the narrow limits of his mortal existence.

APPENDICES TO PART II.

APPENDIX I.

SPEECH OF SIR FRANCIS GOLDSMID ON THE PERSECUTION OF THE JEWS AT SARATOW.

House of Commons, Friday, June 27, 1862.

SIR FRANCIS GOLDSMID.—In rising, Mr. Speaker, pursuant to the notice which I have given, I think I ought in the first place to say in a few words why I seek to bring under the notice of the House a matter respecting which it can exercise no direct authority. That there are precedents enough for such a course it is hardly necessary to remark. To go no further back than the present session, our attention has, and so far as I can judge with general approval, been directed to the government of Italy, to the wrongs of Poland, to the threat of foul outrages which was uttered against the women of New Orleans. At the same time, no honourable member can feel more strongly than I do that this practice of travelling beyond our own jurisdiction ought to be confined within strict bounds. And perhaps it may be thought that the right limit between those cases where it may and those where it may not be properly followed is this:—When there is no reasonable probability that any remarks made here will pro-

duce a useful result in the country to which they apply, then such remarks are a mere idle exercitation. When, on the contrary, there is a fair chance that what is said here will work good in the country referred to, then the House will probably be inclined to give to these matters a small portion of its time. That there are cases falling within the latter description will not be disputed. In a late memorable instance we were reminded, in language of which I should try in vain to imitate the force and eloquence, but of which I think I can state the effect, that as between country and country moral support or influence is no mere shadow, but is a real power in Europe, and that it is an important sign of advancing civilisation, that even as to things with respect to which there is no possibility that sword will clash against sword, the minds of men in one country act upon and procure the recognition of great principles by the minds of men in another. I can assure the House that I am now addressing it from no vain wish to make my voice heard, but because it has been confidently stated to me by persons having an intimate knowledge of the condition of Russia, that so great is the respect felt by the governing classes there for the opinion of our country that there is a real chance that an expression of sympathy in this assembly may exert a beneficial influence on the fate of the surviving victims of the persecution to which I desire to direct attention. I have to make one prefatory remark more, in order to remind honourable members that the party which I hope no longer is, but which has been, predominant in the Russian Government, appears to have entertained the opinion that it could add to the strength of that Empire by fusing the persons belonging to the various races and creeds that are to be found among its subjects into one homogeneous mass. For that purpose disfavour, often amounting to persecution, has been shown to all religious bodies not belonging to the established Greek Church, whether these bodies con-

sisted of Protestants, or Catholics, or Jews. It is necessary to bear this in mind, in order to understand what would otherwise be unintelligible, the determination shown, in part of the proceedings to which I have to refer, to condemn the Jews under accusation, without evidence or against evidence. I proceed shortly to state the facts of the case, of which it is one remarkable feature that the Council of the Empire, more than seven years after the alleged offence, condemned the remaining prisoners in opposition to the opinion of each of the tribunals by which the matter had previously been considered, and to that of the Ministry of Justice.

Saratow, as honourable members may recollect, is a town on the western bank of the Wolga, and is the principal place of one of the remotest and most easterly provinces of European Russia. At Saratow, in December 1852 and January 1853, two Christian boys of the age of about ten years, named Sherstobitow and Maslow, whom, to avoid repeating Russian names, I will refer to as the first and second boy, were missed. Nothing could be ascertained respecting them, except that a lad named Kanin stated that he had been with the second boy when he was enticed away by a person looking like a workman on the barges. In March 1853 the body of the second boy, and in April that of the first, were found on the ice of the Wolga, almost without covering. From this circumstance it might have been inferred that they had been murdered by some person in want for the sake of their clothing. But from certain appearances supposed to be connected with Jewish religious ceremonies, suspicion was directed against about forty Jewish soldiers, who seem to have been almost the only Jews at Saratow. These soldiers were paraded before Kanin, who fixed upon one named Schliffermann, not as being the man, but as being like the man, who had enticed away Maslow. And as this was treated as proof of identity, it may be worth while to read to

the House what has been furnished to me as an exact translation of Kanin's statement—

He is like the man who enticed away Maslow, only the other had a rough voice, as if he had a cold ; and besides, this one has not such a flat nose as he. Otherwise he is like the other in stature and hair, but the other spoke good Russian, and this one has a lisp.

Now, this statement appears to me to be distinct evidence, not of identity, but of similarity coupled with non-identity. Yet, as I have said, it was treated as proof of identity, and this may be looked upon as a sample of the spirit in which the evidence generally was interpreted. Nothing, however, that could be regarded as sufficient proof against the suspected persons could be discovered by the local authorities, and in the latter part of April 1854 a commission was sent from St. Petersburg to inquire into the affair. At this time Mr. Lanskoï was Minister of the Interior, and Mr. Skripitzne (who was known as having directed measures of persecution against some of the Christian sects of Poland) was at the head of the department of that Ministry known as the Board of Dissenting, or, as they are called in Russia, Foreign Religious Bodies. Mr. Lanskoï, at the suggestion, it is believed, of Skripitzne, placed Mr. Durnowo at the head of the commission of inquiry. Durnowo, very soon after his arrival at Saratow, let it be understood that he believed the Jews to be guilty, and invited evidence against them. He threw into prison several persons, and among them a distiller named Jushkevitcher, who appears to have been almost the only Jew at Saratow above the rank of a common soldier. Durnowo's investigation lasted several months, during which he collected hundreds of sheets of extravagant and contradictory evidence, and displayed such a leaning against the Jews as to excite the disapprobation of Kovshernikow (then vice-governor of the district of Saratow) and of the local authorities generally,

both civil and military. The witnesses on whom Durnowo seems to have chiefly relied were three persons who stated themselves to have been accomplices with the Jews in the mutilation, murder, and disposal of the bodies of the two boys—Bogdanow a soldier, Lokotkow a young imperial serf, and Krüger a subordinate civil functionary. In the course of the investigation each of these witnesses travelled through a whole series of self-contradictory statements, which I can not detain the House by particularising, but of which I will trouble it with a specimen or two. The principal witness, Bogdanow, began by charging as his accomplices two persons only, Jushkevitcher and another. Then he included in the charge a third and fourth, afterwards a fifth, and at last a sixth and seventh, one of whom was Schliffermann, the soldier who had been detained on the extraordinary evidence of identity to which I have already referred. As to the mode in which the death of the first boy had been caused, Bogdanow first stated that it was by loss of blood from a wound in the shoulder. A medical examination having afterwards shown that there was no important wound, certainly none that could have occasioned death, he said that although he had been present at the time of the death, he did not know how it had been caused, as he had lost consciousness at the time, from horror, if I understand rightly, at the previous mutilation.

So many, indeed, are the tales of each of these witnesses, that the report of the Senate of Moscow, to which I shall in a few moments refer, speaks of them as having at last, as it is translated to me, 'fixed' or 'settled down' upon one statement. It must not, however, be understood from this that all the witnesses at last 'settled down' upon one statement, but only that one statement was at last 'settled down' upon by each witness, the final statement of each being, however, in important particulars both inconsistent with the final state-

ments of others and full of the wildest absurdities. These I must not detain the House by enumerating, but some few I may perhaps be permitted to mention. Bogdanow's statement, as relied on in the final sentence of the Council of the Empire, declared that he had carried the bodies of both boys from Jushkevitcher's dwelling to the Wolga. Lokotkow's statement, as cited in the same sentence, was that he had killed the second boy, and carried his body from the corn-warehouse to the Wolga, thus differing from Bogdanow, both as to the person by whom, and the place from which, the body of the murdered child had been carried to the river. Krüger accounted for his having been present at the murder of the second boy by saying that he (Krüger) had intended at the time to become a Jew himself, having been told by the soldier Schlifferrmann that if he did he should be made a rabbi. A woman, Gorochow (whose evidence is also relied on by the Council of State as corroborative of the guilt of the accused), stated that she had been told by Jushkevitcher's wife that both boys had been killed by being pierced in various parts of their bodies with a knife of a peculiar shape (the medical evidence, it will be remembered, showing that there was no wound of any importance) ; and further, that Jushkevitcher and Schlifferrmann had received for the murders six millions of roubles (or nine hundred thousand pounds sterling). This mass of extravagant and contradictory evidence having been brought at the beginning of 1854 before the military authorities at Saratow, and before a local board called the Department of Highways (which had jurisdiction in the matter), that board, in accordance with a report of two officers of rank dated January 30, 1854, acquitted the accused, and declared the informers to be liars, and the military authorities seem to have sentenced Bogdanow to corporal punishment for perjury. This decision was not satisfactory to the Ministry of the Interior. On

June 6, 1854, Mr. Lanskoï issued a second commission of inquiry, at the head of which he placed Mr. Guirs. To what result it was intended that this second commission should lead was soon made manifest. Almost simultaneously with its appointment, Kovshernikow, the vice-governor of Saratow, who had disapproved of Durnowo's proceedings, was dismissed, and Durnowo was appointed to succeed him. Several other officers, civil and military, who had ventured to doubt the guilt of the accused, were also dismissed or removed to other stations, and thus the field was left free for the operations of the new commissioner and of the ex-commissioner, now appointed vice-governor. And vigorous enough these operations were. The stick, and it would seem other and worse instruments, were used as auxiliaries in interrogating many of the numerous victims who had by this time been thrown into confinement; and indications of the result are to be found in several entries in the appendix to the Senate's report of persons having 'disappeared' and 'suddenly died' in prison, which I understand to be Russian euphemisms for being tortured to death, or driven by suffering to suicide. After a long delay, of which no explanation has been furnished to me, the mass of evidence collected by Durnowo and Guirs was brought in 1858 before the Senate of Moscow, and, notwithstanding the stringency of the means employed in obtaining it, was not thought to furnish sufficient grounds for condemning the accused. The Senate, on June 8, 1858, decided that the prisoners were liable to suspicion of murder, but that their guilt was not clearly proved. The Senate accordingly recommended that they should be set at liberty. Against this decision Count Panin, then Minister of Justice, protested, not because he was of opinion that the evidence warranted a conviction, but because he thought that it did not even warrant suspicion, and that the accused ought to have been fully acquitted. In consequence of the differ-

ence between the view of the Senate and of the Minister, the question was again, after an unexplained delay, brought before the Council of the Empire. In March 1860 that Council not agreeing with the local tribunal which had acquitted the accused—nor with the Minister of Justice who thought that they ought to be acquitted—nor even with the Senate of Moscow, which had held that there was ground for suspicion but not for conviction—proposed on the same evidence to decide that there was clear ground for their absolute condemnation. The draft of this proposed decision was communicated to Mr. Samiatnin, deputy of the Minister of Justice (an office which is, I believe, analogous to that of an Under-Secretary of State). Mr. Samiatnin made a report containing an elaborate examination of the evidence, in which he pointed out several contradictions and absurdities that I have mentioned, and a number of others with which I have not troubled the House, and he concluded that such evidence could properly lead to no other result than an acquittal. The Council of the Empire, however, persisted in its first intention, condemned the accused, and sentenced Jushkevitcher and Schliffermann, and a soldier named Jurlov (whom it treated as the three principal criminals), to loss of civil rights and hard labour in the mines of Siberia, in two cases for twenty, and in the third for eighteen years. It also sentenced others to minor penalties, whilst it suffered the perjured informers, who stated themselves to have been accomplices in the murders, to escape with almost nominal punishments.

I will not detain the House with any minute examination of the attempts at reasoning by which the Council of the Empire sought to refute the clear and convincing arguments of Mr. Samiatnin, but I can give two examples which may be very briefly stated. The Council treated, not, indeed, as one of the most convincing proofs, but as corroborative evidence against Jushkevitcher, a note which, after

his arrest, he had written to his daughter, and in which he simply requested her to inform the Jewish congregation of his misfortune, in order that they might pray for deliverance from false accusations, adding—‘Be firm, my dearest daughter, I beg this of you and your brother.’ To many persons this note may seem to have some touch of pathos, but I cannot perceive how anyone could suppose that it was more likely to have been written by a guilty than by an innocent man. Yet, as corroborative evidence of guilt was it treated by the Russian Council. But perhaps the Council’s idea as to what might serve to corroborate the veracity of the accuser Bogdanow is more singular still. Besides his various tales, which I have already mentioned, this man at one time included in the charge of being one of his accomplices in the murders an army surgeon named Gubitski, but when last examined he admitted his accusation against the surgeon to be wholly unfounded. After referring to this, the decision of the Council actually contends that ‘this circumstance very strongly brings to light the sincerity of the last statement.’ That is to say, in other words, that if a witness first makes, and then withdraws, a false charge against A, this circumstance does not weaken but strengthens the credibility of a charge which the same witness makes and persists in against B. Such is the logic of the Russian Council. Whether the Council was itself not quite satisfied with the arguments of which these are specimens, or for what other reason the execution of its sentence was delayed, I do not know, but in fact it was not until May 1861 that the unhappy prisoners were despatched to the Siberian mines, where they are believed still to linger.

Since the decision of the Council of the Empire was pronounced, and in part since it was executed, changes have taken place in the Russian Government. Mr. Lanskoï is no longer Minister of the Interior. Count Bludow (who as

Chancellor is considered to have been peculiarly responsible for the decision of the Council, and one of whose last ministerial acts was, I lament to say, to appoint that very Mr. Guirs who presided over the second Saratow commission to an important office peculiarly connected with the affairs of the Jews), is now travelling for the benefit of his health, and is not, I understand, likely to resume active employment. He has long served his country according to his own conscientious views, and as I certainly wish him no harm, I can only desire that his travels may be productive of as much benefit to himself as I believe they will be to all, not being members of the Greek Church, who, if he had remained at home, would have been subject to his influence. But changes more important than those of a personal character have also taken place in the Russian Government. They have, as I believe that the Jews of Russia are quite ready to acknowledge with gratitude, modified and humanised the laws that had till lately pressed upon and almost crushed that numerous class of the Emperor's subjects. But they have done nothing towards revising the unjust sentence of the Council of the Empire in the Saratow affair, or towards the relief of the sufferers. Now, we are ready to make all due allowances for the difficulties besetting the Government of a country where society is half dissolved and is seeking to reconstitute itself. Honourable members may call to mind those two lines of the old Roman poet where he refers to the pleasure which a man looking from the shore of a tempestuous sea derives from contrasting his own ease and security with the toils and perils of the storm-tossed mariner. It is with no such cold or selfish feeling that, from the harbour of long-established constitutional freedom and well-administered laws, we look upon the struggles of those nations that are still painfully striving to attain the same haven of safety. On the contrary, we warmly sympathise with their efforts, and we desire that they

may as easily and speedily as possible secure to themselves the blessings which we enjoy. It is in accordance with this sympathy and with our consciousness of those difficulties, to bear in mind that the Russian Government cannot be expected at once to remedy all the evils resulting from past misrule. But I think that honourable members who have favoured me with attention will be of opinion that no more important steps can be taken towards bestowing on the Russian people the inestimable advantage of confidence in the administration of justice, than by getting rid of three of the greatest abuses revealed to us in this Saratow affair. Difficult as it may be to free from the influence of religious prejudice the proceedings arising out of the criminal law, the public prosecutor at least should not set the example of yielding to such prejudice. The use of the stick and similar instruments as auxiliaries in the interrogation of prisoners should be at once and for ever abolished. And the practice should also be abolished of following accused persons from a court which acquits them to a court which declares them liable to suspicion, and so on from tribunal to tribunal, till a condemnation (in the justice of which, under such circumstances, no reliance can be placed) is at length obtained. I think we shall also be of opinion that many as the claims must at this moment be upon the time and attention of the Imperial Government, it is still desirable that they should find leisure to reconsider the decision of the Council of the Empire, and to relieve the persons who are suffering under a sentence obtained by means of such procedure and founded upon such evidence as those which I have described.

It now only remains for me to thank the House for having listened to my statement, and to put to the noble lord (Viscount Palmerston) a short and simple question. I am aware that, as the persons concerned are not British subjects, the British Government can have no right to make any offi-

cial representation respecting them. But I wish to inquire whether Her Majesty's Government is inclined to offer, with regard to the transactions I have referred to, any unofficial and friendly suggestions to the Government of His Imperial Majesty.

APPENDIX II.

SPEECH OF SIR FRANCIS GOLDSMID ON THE JEWS IN SERVIA.

House of Commons, Friday, March 22, 1867.

Sir Francis Goldsmid said that he wished to ask the noble lord (Lord Stanley) whether the communications between Her Majesty's Government and the Government of Servia afforded any hope of an improved treatment by the latter of its Jewish subjects. He (Sir Francis Goldsmid) regretted that he had not received the information on which his question was founded before the late debate on the motion of his honourable friend the member for Galway (Mr. Gregory). He (Sir Francis Goldsmid) hoped, however, that for two reasons he should be considered justified in bringing this matter forward. In the first place, everything had now an interest which bore upon the relations of the Turkish Government with its non-Mahomedan subjects. In the second place, although as a general rule he was opposed to discussions in that House on the internal affairs of foreign States, yet this was not a case in which an expression of opinion by the Government of England or by members of Parliament could be considered, either in the English or French sense of the word, as officious. By the treaty of Paris the independence of Servia, subject to the suzerainty of the Porte, was guaranteed by England in common with

other Powers ; and therefore they had a right to expect that the conditions upon which that guarantee had been given should be observed. The 28th article of the treaty was in these terms —

The principality of Servia shall continue to hold of the Sublime Porte in conformity with the imperial hatts which fix and determine its rights and immunities, placed henceforward under the collective guarantee of the contracting Powers. In consequence the said principality shall preserve its independent and national administration, as well as full liberty of worship, of legislation, of commerce, and of navigation.

The House would observe that liberty of worship in the principality was here expressly stipulated for. But the Greek Christians of Servia appeared to understand by this, liberty of worship for the majority ; while the Jews, who were a minority, were now subjected to vexatious restrictions, not only as regarded worship, but also in respect to their mode of living and the occupations which they carried on. Jews had been settled in Servia since the 15th century, when they had been expelled from Spain. During the Government of the Turks they seemed to have been subject to no special hardship, nor whilst Servia was passing from the complete dominion of the Turks to that modified independence which she had now attained. For more than twenty years after 1815 Prince Milosch bore a principal part in the government of Servia. He did not, indeed, appear to have been wholly free from the taint of semi-barbarism, but at the same time he was firmly impressed with notions of religious freedom, and during his time the Jews had little cause to complain. In 1842 another dynasty was substituted, and shortly afterwards there was published a decree which was extremely hostile to the Jews. In March 1856 the Treaty of Paris containing the stipulation already referred to was concluded. Yet in October of the same year a decree passed

the Servian Senate confirming the previous proscription against the Jews. In September 1859 Prince Milosch was restored, and he issued an edict declaring that no inhabitant of Servia, whatever his nationality or religion, should be prevented from settling where he pleased, or from devoting himself to commerce or any profession he might choose. In 1861, however, after the death of Prince Milosch, a change took place, and a law was enacted permitting Jewish subjects who had settled in the interior to continue to carry on their businesses in the localities where they were domiciled, but prohibiting them from entering into new undertakings. It also prohibited their children from succeeding to their fathers' occupations, and forbade the entrance of new Jewish settlers. Its terms were—

Art. 1. All Jewish subjects of Servia who in virtue of the law of September 1859 have settled in the interior of the country, or who may settle there between this day and the 28th of February, 1861 (the date fixed for the coming into force of the law which forbids any further accession to the number of Jews inhabiting the interior), and who have established, or who may establish, a trading business there, are allowed to continue their residence and their business, but only in the localities in which they are domiciled. Art. 2. Israelites inhabiting Servia, who up to the present time have been engaged in retail trade only, who have not been manufacturers, and who have not sold articles of food, shall not in future be allowed to commence either of the two last-mentioned businesses within any part of the Servian territory. Art. 3. The right of sojourning in Servia, and of carrying on trade in the country, shall be enjoyed exclusively by such Israelites as shall be settled in the country previous to the 28th of February, 1861; they only are allowed to carry on business or to exercise a profession. This right is not transmissible to their heirs.

The 4th Article related to the liberty of trade, and it forbade the Jews to trade in houses or lands in the interior without special authorisation, under penalty of the application of

the law of October 30, 1856. Some honourable members had, in conversation with him, expressed a doubt whether such a law as he had just read could really have been passed, but he could assure them that it was not only genuine, but was being enforced with increasing rather than with relaxed rigour. If these things were to be ascribed to religious bigotry, they might call to mind the language which the great Spanish novelist put into the mouth of Sancho Panza. 'I am an honest man,' says Sancho, 'and a Christian whose fathers were Christians before him. I hate Jews mortally. What more is necessary in order to deserve eternal happiness?' He (Sir Francis Goldsmid) was certain, however, that he might venture to inform the Servians that Sancho's doctrine was not that of Western Europe in the latter half of the 19th century. But further, he was assured, and he believed the Government had received similar assurances, that to ascribe the treatment of the Servian Jews to religious bigotry would be to give the Servians greater credit than they deserved. Their conduct really originated in a jealousy of Jewish traders, who either from being more clever in business, or from being contented with smaller profits than their competitors, were able to supply the Servian peasants with the necessaries they required on cheaper terms than their rivals. It was thus self-interest which was clothing itself in the garb of religious zeal—a kind of hypocrisy more contemptible than bigotry, if it could not be more mischievous. Great distress had been suffered by a number of Jews through the bombardment of Belgrade, their houses being situated almost under the guns of the fortress; and though the Servian Government might not be responsible for that bombardment, it was their oppressive measures which had obliged a large number of Jews to reside in that quarter of the town, and by interfering with their means of livelihood had reduced them to destitution. The exhibition of such

intolerance ought to be well considered by those who wished this country to forego its old Eastern policy. The testimony of the honourable members for Southwark and Bridgewater (Mr. Layard and Mr. Kinglake), of Viscount Strangford, a nobleman who it was to be regretted did not oftener give to the House of Lords and the country the benefit of his intimate knowledge of the East, and of other gentlemen best acquainted with Turkey, went to show that while our own notions of toleration nowhere existed in that country, the Mahomedans were much less inclined to oppress the Christians and Jews than the Greek Christians were to oppress all who differed from them, whether Protestants or Roman Catholics, Jews or Mahomedans. Persecution would not be diminished by giving independence to the Christians, but its direction would simply be changed, and its virulence and intensity probably increased. Those semi-barbarians, reversing the maxim of the Roman poet, had learnt from the oppression which they had endured no other lesson than this, how best to avail themselves of the first opportunity of inflicting similar oppression upon others. He hoped the Servians would be made to understand that they would receive no further sympathy from England unless they conceded to others the rights which they were ready enough to claim for themselves. He acknowledged with gratitude the friendly remonstrances which had been offered by the noble lord (Lord Stanley) and by his predecessors in office. He did not call upon the Government to take any action in this question beyond persevering in that course, but he hoped that the discussion of the subject in the British House of Commons would have a moral effect. He expressed a confident hope that the noble lord would be found ready to offer again words of friendly though earnest remonstrance on behalf of the unfortunate class whose case he (Sir Francis Goldsmid) had brought to the attention of the House.

APPENDIX III.

*SPEECH OF SIR FRANCIS GOLDSMID ON CRETE,
SERVIA, AND ROUMANIA.*

House of Commons, Friday, April 24, 1868.

Sir, Although the papers to which attention has been called appear to me to suggest considerations very different from those which have occurred to my honourable friend the member for Gloucester (Mr. Monk), yet I should not on that account alone have asked permission to address the House. My principal reason for desiring to do so is, that at this moment—when honourable members are invited, for the sake of humanity and of religious freedom, to express opinions in favour of the separation of Crete from Turkey, and its annexation to Greece—I am anxious that those to whom this invitation is directed should not shut their eyes to the light of experience, should not forget that other experiments, similar to that now recommended, have been tried under more favourable conditions, and have produced, with reference to humanity and to religious freedom, most lamentable results. That the House will forgive me for that anxiety I am certain, because of those lamentable results thousands of men of my own race and creed have been among the first victims, and they, entertaining the exaggerated ideas which in some distant places prevail as to the power and influence of a member of this assembly, have repeatedly applied to me, and, although I have done what I could, have, I regret to say, applied to me almost in vain, to aid them in their misfortunes.

But before I proceed to the subject to which I principally desire to direct attention, I may perhaps be permitted to make a few observations as to Crete itself. Now, in the first place I would remark, that it is not fair to judge of the

Turkish Government by acts of barbarity committed by its soldiers, not exceeding, probably, those of which the other side have been guilty during the insurrection. Wars have seldom been the best schools of humanity, nor is it to be expected that civil war, or above all, an insurrectionary war, should be a favourable exception to the rule. A more correct opinion will be formed of the Turkish Government by considering what it did at a period anterior to the insurrection, and whether it has or has not displayed a conciliatory disposition at those times in the autumns of 1866 and 1867 when it too sanguinely believed that the rebellion was on the eve of being put down. If, without travelling back forty years or more, as has been done by my honourable friend the member for Gloucester, we recur to Consul-General Longworth's reports of 1858, which have lately been reprinted, we shall learn from that dated August 20 of that year, that the Turkish Governor, Vely Pacha, made great exertions for the benefit of the island by encouraging trade, improving the harbour, and promoting the building of churches, schools, and hospitals. I would especially call attention to the fact, as indicating an absence of anything like bigotry, that he gave money out of his own pocket for the erection of churches. If the aspirations of my honourable friend and other Philhellenes should be fulfilled, if Crete should be separated from Turkey, and united to Greece, we shall, I apprehend, have to wait some considerable time before we see a Greek Governor take out of his own purse money for building a Mahomedan mosque. Among the measures adopted by Vely Pacha for improving the island, was the making of roads, and at first the Cretan Christians were enthusiastic for the accomplishment of his plans—

But when it was seen that the roads could not be made without labour or pecuniary sacrifice, they turned round and opposed

them, and there was no abuse too violent or fiction too absurd which they did not lavish on everybody connected with them. Under the Hatti-Houmayoum Turks were permitted to turn Christians, and—what did not please the Cretan Christians quite so much—Christians were allowed to turn Turks. These people, who are always talking of Turkish fanaticism, now sought to trample on it with a fiercer fanaticism of their own. Not content with fair proselytism, they resorted to the most scandalous means of making converts.

Vely Pacha had intended to apply the whole of a sum of money received from Egypt for the benefit of the island in building a Greek church—

But indignant at these excesses he now decided that the funds should be distributed among the schools and hospitals of all Christian sects indiscriminately. The Greeks were much incensed at this.

It is thus made clear that the Christian Cretans were scarcely more fanatical against the Turks than they were against one another. Let us now pass on to those periods in the autumns of 1866 and 1867 when the Turkish Government thought that it was on the point of putting down the insurrection. In November 1866 the Turkish Government offered an amnesty. In the autumn of 1867 they offered a project of reforms, which the Cretan Christians it is true rejected, but which the noble lord opposite (Lord Stanley), in his despatch of October 25, characterised, and I believe correctly, as amounting very nearly to a concession of local autonomy, and as including the most important point—equal rights for Mussulmans and Christians. The Turkish Government also, without waiting for the acceptance of its offers, set free, as is distinctly stated by Consul Dickson on October 12, all political prisoners without exception. Measures such as these surely indicate on the

part of the Government much less of fierce tyranny than of anxiety to conciliate its discontented subjects.

But then it may be said, that the dislike entertained by the Cretan Christians for the Turkish Government suffices to show that it is a bad one, and that their happiness would be promoted by the annexation of the island to Greece. Now, in the first place it should be borne in mind that although the Christians form the majority of the population of Crete, there is an important minority of Mahomedans. But even if the Christians only be considered, it is not quite clear from their disliking the Turkish Government that it is a bad one, or that they would be the happier for being freed from it. To be convinced of this we have only to look at the Ionian Islands. The majority of the Ionians preferred, or at all events they persuaded the Ministry and Parliament of England that they preferred, the bad government of Greece to the good government of England. We did not desire to retain unwilling subjects ; their wish, or supposed wish, was complied with. And what has been the result ? Examine the Consular Reports laid before Parliament last year, and you will see that in December 1865 the deputy of Corfu, taking a temporary farewell of the Greek Assembly, declared that his presence among them was useless, and that he could not remain the impassive spectator of the ruin (*égorgement*, or throat-cutting, is his emphatic term) of the Seven Islands, and of Corfu at their head. You will see that in September 1866 Consul-General Saunders stated that the consciousness of all that Corfu has lost by its subservience to clamour and intrigue was too fully impressed upon all reflecting minds to admit of any other than one absorbing feeling of self-condemnation and unavailing regret. But further it may be argued, that even if mere discontent would not suffice to prove the badness of the Turkish rule in Crete, it is proved by the island having been for two years in a state

of chronic rebellion. And this would, I apprehend, be true if the insurrection were (to use a phrase which is applied to better things) self-supporting. But no one can bestow any degree of attention on the papers before us without perceiving that the rebellion would long ago have been at an end if it had not been kept up from without. An almost constant succession of Greek cruizers has landed in Crete rebel volunteers, and arms and provisions, and these proceedings have been sanctioned by Greece in open violation of her duties as a neutral. Nor has her interference stopped there. The return cargoes have consisted, not merely of women and children, not merely of the wounded, not merely even of Cretans who were tired of the contest, but peaceable Cretans, who desired to remain where they were, have been carried away against their will from their homes and their native island by their Greek deliverers. This striking fact is not only expressly stated by the Grand Vizier in his circular of October 14, 1867, but his statement is confirmed in advance by Consul Dickson in his letter of the 3rd of the same month. If you desire to know what good Greece has effected, either for herself or her Cretan friends, you have only to look at Mr. Erskine's despatch of October 23, 1867, from which you may learn that to support in a state of semi-starvation the Cretans who had been carried to Greece would absorb one-fourth of the ordinary revenue of the country, and that delegates had been sent to Athens by the Cretan Assembly to intimate to the Hellenic Government that the insurrection must cease unless Greece would contribute to the prosecution of the war in Crete, and to the support of the Cretan refugees in Greece, sums exceeding half the ordinary revenue of the kingdom. The Government, it appears, despatched to Crete two or three persons of influence, to endeavour to make arrangements for the continuance of the insurrection on terms somewhat less

ruinous to Greece. Why all this was permitted by Turkey is obvious enough. The papers show clearly, I think, not only that she would have put down the rebellion if she had had to deal with Crete alone, but that if she had had to deal with Crete and Greece alone she would have declared war against the latter, and have put an end at once to the Cretan insurrection and the kingdom of Greece. But Turkey was aware that the protecting Powers were behind, and would not allow Greece to be attacked. This is very plainly stated by Mr. Lloyd, the Consul at Syra, in a despatch of February 3, 1867. Now, it might have been expected that if the great Powers were resolved to guard Greece against what would otherwise have been the consequences of her shameless breaches of international law, they would at least have insisted that those acts should be discontinued. But England is the only Power which has consistently remonstrated against the conduct of Greece. France, indeed, did the same at first, but towards the close of 1866 she entirely changed her line of conduct. Russia has, from the beginning, taken the course—in which she was afterwards supported by France, and, to a certain extent, by Prussia and Italy—of addressing lectures, not to Greece, the wrong-doer, but to Turkey, the party injured—of addressing to Turkey lectures and remonstrances amounting almost to a demand that she should reward her enemy by delivering up to Greece the government of Crete—a step which, considering the large number of Mahomedans in the island, it was impossible for Turkey to take without dishonour. How the great Continental Powers justify, even to themselves, what they have done, I am at a loss to explain, except by supposing that they have adopted some maxim like the old one which teaches that no faith should be kept with heretics and infidels; some such maxim as this—that the rules of international law are binding on a Mahomedan State, but that for the benefit

of such a State those rules have neither vigour nor validity. Instead of wondering that, under these circumstances, Turkey has failed in putting down the Cretan insurrection, the wonder appears to me to be that she has succeeded in keeping it in check. Let us imagine that Ireland, instead of having England interposed between it and the rest of Europe, had been as easy of access from the Continent as Crete is from Greece. Let us further suppose that, even during the last thirty-five years, when we have been at least endeavouring to improve the government of Ireland, one of the Catholic Powers of the Continent had been constantly sending cruizers to land there rebel volunteers, and arms and provisions, and to take back return cargoes, not only of women and children and wounded men, but of such peaceable and home-loving Irishmen as could be found and carried away against their will. Let us likewise assume that the other Catholic Powers had been in league to prevent us from defending ourselves by attacking our enemy ; and then tell me what you think would have been, under such circumstances, our success in preventing a chronic insurrection in Ireland.

I now pass to that part of the subject which was my principal reason for desiring to address the House ; and I ask honourable members, before they sanction or favour the separation of semi-barbarous tribes from the Turkish Empire, to consider well what have been the results of those experiments of the same kind which have already been made. Let us turn to Servia and Roumania. From Servia I believe that the Mahomedans have been driven out ; but I have fuller information respecting the condition of the Servian Jews. Under the Turkish rule they appear to have had no great cause of complaint, but the case has been entirely altered since Servia has been practically independent. In 1861 a law was passed prohibiting Jews from settling in the

interior of Servia, and from entering into any trades which they had not already carried on. Even the children of Jews already settled in the country were not allowed to pursue their fathers' trades. Notwithstanding repeated remonstrances from the English, French, and other Governments, continued from time to time up to last year, notwithstanding the favourable disposition of the ruling Prince, and the wishes of the Servian peasants, who find that they are supplied with the ordinary articles of consumption by the Jews on better terms than by other traders, the influence of the mercantile class in Belgrade and other places, who are jealous of Jewish competition, is, as is explained by Consul-General Longworth in a despatch of August 10, 1865, as well as in subsequent communications, so great, that this disgraceful law remains unrepealed. In Roumania the condition of things is more serious still. The persecution there affects a Jewish population which is estimated by their enemies at 500,000, and which really exceeds 300,000 souls. By the 46th article of the Convention of August 19, 1858, under which the present Rouman State exists, it was stipulated that all Roumans, of whatever faith, should be equal before the law and admissible to all employments, though the political rights of such as were not Christians were left to the discretion of the legislative Assembly. In 1866, when the constitution was framed, a clause was introduced for conferring full equality on persons of all religions ; but a tumult arose at Bucharest, a riotous mob pillaged the Synagogue, and the constitution was so altered as to exclude all but Christians from political rights. These occurrences appear to have suggested the idea that a persecution of the Jews would be popular. In May 1867 the Minister of the Interior, M. Ion Bratiano (formerly a Red Republican), issued to the prefects a circular by which he attempted to revive, by his own authority, old laws which had been abro-

gated, forbidding Jews to dwell in the rural districts, and he directed that they should be expelled from farms and inns of which they were lessees or proprietors. He also ordered the police to treat the Jews as vagabonds, without the formalities required by law. It deserves notice, indeed, as a peculiar characteristic of this Rouman persecution, that men are first driven lawlessly from their homes, and then illegally punished as vagabonds. The circular was acted on with a barbarity quite in keeping with the document itself. Numbers of Jews were thrown into chains; some were imprisoned, others driven from the country. Telegrams were sent to my honourable friend the member for London (Baron Rothschild), Sir Moses Montefiore, and myself, and to the *Alliance Israélite* of Paris, and in consequence of the communications which we made, and of those which the English and French Governments received from their own agents, those Governments offered representations to Prince Charles and his Ministers, which procured some mitigation of the persecution I have described. In June the Court of Appeal of Jassy set aside as illegal the sentence by which three Jews had been condemned as vagabonds. But the circular has never been revoked, and the persecution has from time to time been renewed with the greatest persistency and determination. I will not dwell on the various deeds of oppression of which the Rouman Jews have been the victims, but I will ask permission shortly to mention them, taking first the outrages and acts of injustice committed by the populace and subordinate authorities, and then the intolerant laws and proceedings passed and adopted by the National Assembly and the Government. In June 1867 more than 200 Jews were beaten and insulted at the very moment of Prince Charles entering Jassy. This is stated by Mr. St. Clair, the British Consul in that city, in his despatch of June 28. In July ten Jews who were alleged by the Rouman

authorities to be vagabonds from Turkey, but who were believed by the Consuls to be natives of Roumania, were carried from Galatz across part of the Danube, and landed in a marshy island where one of them perished in the mud. The survivors were afterwards sent back by the Turkish authorities to Galatz, and in a struggle between the Turkish boatmen who wished to land the unhappy Jews, and the Roumans who would not receive them, they were all thrown into the water and two were drowned. These facts, which are stated in despatches of July 16 from Consul Ward, and July 20 from Consul-General Green, led to an energetic but ineffectual protest by the Consuls-General of Austria, France, England, Italy, Prussia, and Russia. In October 1867 a wholesale expulsion of Jews from the villages round Galatz took place by order of the prefect. About the same time the Mayor of Jassy, imitating the Minister Bratiano, revived by his own authority an old law, which had been repealed, prohibiting Jews from keeping Christian servants, and M. Neuschatz, a respectable banker, was fined for disobedience to the prefect's illegal order. In December 1867, in consequence of the death of a child at Kalarasch, the mediæval assertion that the Jews used Christian blood in their religious ceremonies was renewed. The Jews of the town were ill-treated, and the Synagogue was gutted by the mob. The Government ordered a Commission of Inquiry, the report of which threw the whole blame of the disturbance on a medical man and a school-master, who had excited the populace, and whom the Government stated to have been arrested, but these mischievous slanderers seem never to have received any punishment. In January 1868 the Jews were accused of having poisoned a monk who had died at Berlad, and were seriously ill-treated. No redress was afforded, and the Government attributed the mischief, not, indeed, to any guilt on the part of the Jews,

but to their 'overbearing behaviour.' This is an improvement on the old fable of the wolf and the lamb. In February 1868 the Jews were expelled by the prefect from the district of Vaslui ; a list has been sent to me of the names of between twenty and thirty of the families who were thus driven out. In March 1868 M. Lecca, the prefect of the district of Bacau, of whose hostility to the Jews the Government was well aware, expelled a large number. I have a list, which I am assured is incomplete, of the names of nearly 100 of the sufferers, specifying also the names of the communes and of the owners of the estates from which they were banished. The misery of persons thus thrust out of their homes, at a season which I am told was as inclement in Roumania as it was here, may be imagined, and that misery was heightened by the system, which, as I have already noticed, seems to have been adopted throughout this Rouman persecution, of punishing as vagabonds those whom the Government had first driven from their dwellings. For all these acts of oppression on the part of the prefects the Government must be considered as clearly responsible, since they have not only retained in office officials whom, like M. Lecca, they know to be hostile, but have removed those who do not share their persecuting tendencies. This is distinctly stated by Consul Ward in his despatch of July 16, 1867.

I pass on to the proceedings emanating directly from the Rouman Ministry or the Chamber. In January 1868 an order was issued by the Government prohibiting Jews from being contractors or bidding at Government auctions. In February a law was passed imposing on Jews, in common with the other inhabitants of the country, the obligation of military service, but disqualifying the former for any rank in the army. On the 24th of the same month, on a petition being presented from the village of Hangou, complaining of the conduct of some Jewish innkeepers at that place, the

Chamber voted at once, and without even an inquiry into the truth of the complaint, a resolution requesting the Minister of the Interior to put into execution the laws (which by the way do not exist except in the imagination of the Chamber and of the Government) for the expulsion of the Jews from all the rural districts. In March 1868 the President and thirty other deputies, forming about one-fifth of the Chamber and belonging to the ministerial party, presented a project of law which carries us back to the times of our own Henry III. and Edward I., and indeed exceeds, in its mixture of absurdity and cruelty, the barbarous statutes of that remote period. I cannot venture to occupy the time of the House by reading the preamble, but I may perhaps be permitted to give a few specimens of its allegations. It states among much other rodomontade, that 500,000 Jews have invaded Roumania, and created a compact colony which has acquired a monstrous monopoly, and completely destroyed the commerce and retail trade of the native population ; that the concentration of capital in their hands has created a monetary crisis ; that the Jews have monopolised food and drinks ; that the Roumans are forced to consume the food and drinks prepared by the Jews, while the Jews refuse with disdain those prepared by the Roumans ; that the Jews of Spain, England, France, and Austria are neither Spaniards, Englishmen, Frenchmen, nor Austrians, but only Jews ; that the nationality of any people is obscured if it allows itself to be isolated by foreign and heterogeneous groups, and that when national union is thus menaced the public liberties become mere chimeras ; that the Rouman State is tolerant towards the free exercise of all forms of worship, but that it cannot shut its eyes to the morality of a religion of which it is the principal object to ruin the highest interests of the nation, and that the legislators of other countries have been equally with themselves obliged to put an end to the evils caused by the Jews.

The enacting part of the proposed law is worthy of the preamble. The 1st article prohibits the Jews from establishing themselves in town communes without permission from the communal council, and from settling even temporarily in the rural communes under any pretext whatever. The 2nd article declares Jews disobeying the 1st to be vagabonds. The 3rd forbids Jews to hold any real property either in town or country, and declares that on any attempt being made to purchase or sell for them any such property, two-thirds of the price shall be forfeited to the local charitable institutions, and the remaining third to the informer. The 4th imposes severe penalties for the infraction of the 3rd. The 5th prohibits the Jews from taking leases of lands, inns, mills, distilleries, vineyards, or stables for cattle, and from undertaking anything connected with the State, or any public establishment. The 6th forbids the authorities to entertain any demand emanating from a Jew relative to matters of business prohibited by the 5th. The 7th makes it unlawful for Jews to carry on any trade except by the especial permission of the authorities of the commune. The 8th renders illegal the sale by Jews to Christians of any food or drink ; and the 9th suppresses all Jewish communities and committees in the different villages.

The object of those who proposed this outrageous law was of course to drive all Jews out of the country. On the proposal being made, the leading men of the Jewish community immediately telegraphed to their co-religionists in Paris, London, and elsewhere. In consequence of representations made to the Governments of France, England, Austria, and Prussia, those Governments, and also, I believe, that of Russia, remonstrated against the preposterous proposal, and it has not at present received the sanction of the Chamber. Brought forward, however, by the friends of Bratiano, it has been made to serve his purposes by enabling

him to assume the character of a protector of the Jews whilst in fact oppressing them. He obtained the consent of the Chamber to the adjournment of the project of law by declaring that its provisions were too violent, but that he was quite aware of the great mischief done by the Jews, and would take effectual measures to put a stop to it. What those efficacious measures were to be is plain from what has been done by the Prefect Lecca, and from the declarations which have been made by Bratiano to the leading Jews, that such was the state of public feeling that he must act against their co-religionists and drive them out of the rural communes, or else the population would rise against him. Only this morning I have received a letter informing me that the national guard at Bacau had used the arms with which they were provided for the defence of their country in firing into the houses of the Jews.

Such, then, is the condition of Roumania. Compare its Government, or even that of Servia, with the Turkish Government in Crete, so long as the island was not stirred into insurrection by Greece, and who can doubt the superiority of the latter? But to suppose that the state of Crete, if separated from the Turkish Empire, will be similar to that of Roumania, would be to form a conjecture far too favourable. If the semi-civilised Roumans are practising cruel oppression against an unoffending and industrious population with whom they have no cause of quarrel, unless perhaps that the Jews successfully compete with them in trade, what conduct could be expected from the barbarous Christians of Crete, if they became the dominant class, towards the Mahomedans, whose religion has hitherto been that of the Government, and against whom their passions have been inflamed by an obstinate war? Is it not perfectly clear that the hapless Mussulmans would only have to choose between expulsion and destruction? In considering the condition

of Turkey, Parliament should never lose sight of two short but most instructive sentences in Lord Lyons' despatch of May 6, 1867 :

In short, very little progress has been made towards enabling the Christians to feel that the Ottoman Government is as regards them a national Government. They submit to it as a less evil than anarchy and confusion, and each Christian race appears to value it chiefly as a safeguard against what appears to be to each the great object of dread, the domination of any of the other Christian races in the Empire.

The appeals to sympathy on behalf of the Christian races which it is desired to free from Turkish rule appear to me to be in part founded upon a vague idea that it must always be a right and religious thing to take up the cause of those who call themselves Christians against Mahomedans. I am sure, however, that no such idea will be allowed to mislead this House. The expulsion of the Mussulmans from Servia, the prohibition of the Jews from farming and trading in the interior of the same principality, the outrages practised on the large Jewish population of Roumania, the extermination of the Mahomedans in Crete and in every other part of Turkey which may be separated from the Empire—these are the results of freeing semi-barbarous races from Turkish rule, the actual results of the process so far as it has gone, its probable results if it shall go further. And these consequences I venture to say that you will agree with me in declaring to be consistent neither with Christianity nor morality, with religion nor with right. It would be vain to hope for the immediate establishment in Turkey of what we should consider a satisfactory Government ; but the best thing we can do is to continue to afford to the Turkish Empire the support of England, making it a condition of that support that the Porte should gradually, but with more energy than has hitherto been displayed, pursue the course upon which

it has already entered—that of improving its rule and developing the rights of its Christian subjects until they shall have attained perfect equality with the Mahomedans.

APPENDIX IV.

SPEECH OF SIR FRANCIS GOLDSMID ON THE CONDITION AND TREATMENT OF THE JEWS OF ROUMANIA AND SERVIA.

House of Commons, April 19, 1872.

Sir Francis Goldsmid introduced the subject by observing that the proceedings in Roumania were a series of infractions of treaties to which England, together with the other great Powers, was a party, and that accordingly the British Government and Parliament had a right to express an opinion upon them. He also wished to comply with the earnest desire of the sufferers by these persecutions, that what they had endured should be brought to the knowledge of this House. He then continued :

In 1867 and 1868, when the present Lord Derby, then Lord Stanley, was Foreign Minister, I had the honour of directing to similar events the attention of the House, and those who suffered persecution in the countries to which I refer thought that the course I had then taken was at least of some temporary advantage to them. Since the renewal of these persecutions I have received from the Jews in Roumania and Servia the strongest entreaties to bring their cases again under the consideration of Her Majesty's advisers and of Parliament. And, Sir, when I contrast the condition of my religious community here with their condition in Servia and Roumania—when I remember that we are here not only in the enjoyment of all civil and political rights,

but that several of us have also the honour of being members of this assembly, and can, in this place, make our voices heard ; and that on the other hand, in Servia our brethren are cooped up in one corner of the territory, and in Roumania they are deprived of all security for their houses, their property, and even their families and their lives, I cannot, I must own, resist the appeals which have been made to me. I do not think I am at liberty to deny to tens of thousands of men of my own race and faith any chance of improving, in however slight a degree, their position which may arise from the opportunities afforded me by the liberal policy of the United Kingdom, by the confidence of an English constituency, and by the sympathy of the House of Commons with the oppressed.

I have said, Sir, that the proceedings of which I complain are a series of infractions of treaties ; and in order to establish this so far as respects Roumania it is fortunately only necessary that I should read a few lines from the Convention of August 19, 1858, under which the principalities received their present organisation. The 46th art. of that Convention begins as follows : ‘ All Moldavians and Wallachians shall be equal in the eye of the law and with regard to taxation, and shall be equally admissible to public employments in both principalities. Their individual liberty shall be guaranteed. No one can be detained, arrested, or prosecuted but in conformity with the law. No one can be deprived of his property unless legally for causes of public interest, and on payment of indemnification. Moldavians and Wallachians of all Christian confessions shall equally enjoy political rights. The enjoyment of these rights may be extended to other religions by legislative arrangements.’ The provision withholding from non-Christians in the first instance political rights, appears to me to have been very unfortunate, as it tended to foster the idea of the Jews being

an inferior race, and to encourage persecution. But this provision ought at least to have one good effect, by rendering it impossible to contend, as the Roumanian Government, and even its tribunals, have sometimes since attempted to contend, that 'all Moldavians and Wallachians' at the commencement of the 46th art. means only Christian Moldavians and Wallachians. The distinction is as clear as language can make it. The article promises civil rights, security of property, and even admission to all public employments, to all Moldavians and Wallachians, irrespective of creed, while political rights were confined, in the absence of subsequent legislation, to Christians. But although this was what was promised, the performance has been different indeed. About fourteen years have elapsed since this Convention was entered into. During the last six years of that period, and contemporaneously, I am sorry to say, with the accession of the present ruler, Prince Charles (although I must not be understood as attributing any blame to the Prince), persecutions of the Jews commenced. In July 1867 and April 1868 I brought this subject before the House, and I desire to read a short abstract of what I stated on the latter occasion, because my statements derive an authority which in themselves they could not possess, from their having been made in Lord Stanley's presence, and assented to by him. I said that in May 1867 the Roumanian Minister of the Interior, Bratiano, revived by his own authority old laws which had been abrogated, forbidding Jews to dwell in rural districts, and directed that they should be expelled from houses and land of which they were lessees or proprietors, and that after they had been driven lawlessly from their homes, he directed that they should be illegally condemned and punished as vagabonds ; that in June 1867 the Court of Appeal at Jassy set aside one of these condemnations, but that the circular had never been revoked, and

that the persecutions had from time to time been renewed ; that in June 1867 two hundred Jews were beaten at the moment of Prince Charles' entry into Jassy ; that in the following month ten Jews, believed by the Consuls to be native Roumanians, but alleged by the Roumanians to be vagabonds from Turkey, were taken from Galatz to a marshy island in the Danube, where one of them perished ; that the survivors were sent back to Galatz by the Turkish authorities, and that in a struggle between the Turkish boatmen who wished to land the unhappy Jews, and the Roumanians who would not receive them, they were all thrown into the water, and two were drowned ; that in October 1867 a wholesale expulsion of Jews from the villages round Galatz took place by order of the prefect ; that about the same time the Mayor of Jassy, reviving an obsolete law which prohibited Jews from keeping Christian servants, fined a respectable banker for disobeying it ; that in December 1867 the death of a child at Kalarasch led to the renewal of the mediæval calumny that Christian blood was used in Jewish ceremonies, and that the propagators of what was shown by the report of a Government Commission to be a slander were never punished ; that early in 1868 120 families, of most of whose names I had lists, were driven in an inclement season from their houses in the districts of Vaslui and Bacau ; and that the prefects who had authorised these atrocities had been retained in office, while those free from persecuting tendencies had been removed. The present Lord Derby, then Foreign Secretary, condensing, as he can so well do, into a few sentences, the facts of the case, said : 'There is only one other subject to which I will advert, and that is the persecution, for it is nothing less, of the Jewish race which is carried on at present in the principalities. I can assure the honourable baronet opposite that he cannot feel upon that subject more strongly than

I do. I really think it is a question which concerns Christians even more than Jews, because if the suffering falls upon the Jew, the disgrace falls upon the Christian. I know of no instance in our times of a series of oppressive acts committed, I will not say merely without any provocation, but so far as I can see, without any reasonable and intelligible motive whatever. In so far as these acts were connived at or encouraged by the local officials, or, as I fear must have been the case in some instances, by the Roumanian Government, I can only explain that connivance or encouragement by the tendency of a weak and not very scrupulous Government to trade on the worst popular passions.' The noble lord then expressed a hope that the continued representations of the British and other Governments would prove successful, but I regret to say that this hope has been only partially realised. In July 1869 a series of wholesale expulsions of Jews from rural districts occurred, as to which Mr. Layard, then Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, promised, in answer to my honourable friend the member for Greenwich (Sir D. Salomons), that representations should be made by the British Government. Between that time and the present year I am not aware that any remarkable instance of absolute violence occurred, but the Jews have been subjected to restrictions conflicting in many cases with the Roumanian constitution, and in all with the Convention to which the state owed its existence. They have been excluded from the bar, from rank in the army, from educational appointments, from medical posts, and, during the last few weeks, from the right to employ their co-religionists in the sale of tobacco. I now come to the violent proceedings of the present year. On the 2nd of January last some silver vessels valued at ten ducats were stolen from the Cathedral of Ismail (a town in that part of Bessarabia which was ceded by Russia to Moldavia by the Treaty of Paris of

March 1856), by a Russian named Silber or Silbermann. The Roumanian Government have thought it worth while, in their answer to a note from the Consuls, to state that, this man was a Jew. I am informed, however, that it is the fact, and that he has admitted in his last examination, that though a Jew by birth, he has long abandoned his ancestral faith. The thief at various times accused the President of the Jewish Synagogue, the Rabbi, and two other Jewish residents, of having incited him to the act, and the vessels were found in sewers attached to their residences. I need hardly comment on the extreme improbability of the charge. It cannot be supposed that members of a race forming hardly a fifth of the population of the town, and surrounded by persons zealous for what they call religion, though it is very unlike Christianity as understood in Western Europe, would venture on such an act. If gain had been the object, it follows, almost of course, that more valuable articles, which it is admitted were close at hand, would have been taken. If the purpose had been to insult Christianity, and yet to escape unpunished, what, short of madness, could have led the instigators of the crime to cause to be hidden in the immediate neighbourhood of their own residences the stolen vessels which might have been so easily destroyed? The author of an able statement on this subject, recently published by the Anglo-Jewish Association, remarks, that if Joseph's cup was found in Benjamin's sack, it was because Joseph had directed that it should be put there. It might, it seems to me, be still more apposite to cite a narrative, newer, though less authentic, than the Book of Genesis—Dickens' 'Old Curiosity Shop,' where Sampson Brass hides a five-pound note in the lining of the hat of the boy whom he immediately afterwards accuses of theft. I insist on the absurdity of the charge against the President and Rabbi of the Synagogue of Ismail, because their unjust condemnation

by a Roumanian jury is one of the grievances of which I have to complain, and not because, if the accusation had been true, it could have formed any justification for the outrages on the whole Jewish population which followed in the last week in January, and which are thus described (I am assured, not untruly) by the sufferers :—‘An excited mob rushed through the streets, sparing neither infirm old age, trembling women, nor infants at their mothers’ breasts. Helpless and unresisting Jews were treated in the most inhuman manner ; wives and daughters were violated before the eyes of their husbands and parents ; houses were plundered ; sacred places were desecrated, and the rolls of the Law carried away ; even the rest of the dead was disturbed and the burial-place destroyed. Many persons have succumbed to their wounds ; dishonoured women are hiding their shame in cellars ; sick and wounded men are lying in miserable dwellings, the doors and windows of which are broken down, without a straw mat even on which to stretch their limbs, without a pillow, without covering. Hundreds of others who have been cruelly ill-treated are wandering homeless through the streets, begging at the doors of the few who have been spared, or who suffered in a less degree.’ In two other towns, where similar outrages have occurred, Vilcow and Cahul, there has not been even the pretext of a preliminary accusation. In Vilcow, a fishing village not far from Ismail, the Jews were driven off and robbed, suffering losses to the extent of £8,000. In Cahul, a town of 7,000 inhabitants, of whom 1,000 are supposed to be Jews, scenes of the same character have occurred. The soldiers attempted to escort the Jews to the barracks, but the mob broke through the soldiers (who did not offer any resistance) and ill-treated the Jews, who are stated to have afterwards remained for three days in the barracks without food. If the matter were not too serious, it might be thought that the municipalities

tried to give a touch of comedy to these tragic scenes, for while the unfortunate Jews had been expelled from their houses, robbed of nearly all they possessed, and were dependent for food upon the charity of their neighbours, the municipalities, who had been unable or unwilling to protect them, stuck upon the deserted dwellings the usual forms of notice demanding the payment of taxes. Upon a Government investigation into the charges against the Jews accused of theft at Ismail, they were pronounced entirely guiltless and were set free. A few weeks afterwards, however, they were re-arrested and ordered to undergo a jury trial. Immediately on this taking place, Mr. Peixotto, the United States' Consul at Bucharest (a Jewish gentleman, who, I understand, was induced by his wish to ameliorate the condition of his oppressed Roumanian brethren, to give up an excellent practice as barrister in America, in order to accept the almost unpaid office he now holds), wrote to me that the case of the accused was hopeless, as no Jew would ever be acquitted by a Roumanian jury. The prediction has been verified, for I have, within the last two or three days, received telegrams informing me, not only that the accused Jews have been convicted, but also that the rioters of Vilcow have been acquitted. It may be worth while to observe that all the recent riots have occurred in that part of Bessarabia which was ceded by Russia to Moldavia by the Treaty of Paris. Russia, as we all know, succeeded last year in getting rid of the neutralisation of the Black Sea, and we have lately been informed that she contemplates the rebuilding of the fortifications of Sebastopol. These facts have suggested an idea that she may also desire to get rid of a third portion of the treaty by resuming possession of this part of Bessarabia. Certain it is that these riots were preceded by the publication of a pamphlet pointing out what a great disadvantage it was to the district in question to be severed from the great Empire

of Russia and annexed to petty Roumania. It has further been surmised, not, of course, that the Government of Russia, but that some individuals acting in her supposed interests, had something to do with the instigation of the riots, with a view of facilitating the execution of the project referred to, by disgraceful outrages occurring in the coveted district, and demonstrating the incompetency of the Roumanian Government to rule it. On these conjectures I offer no opinion. I content myself with expressing the hope that Russia will show her utter disgust at any such manifestations by joining in the representations which, in my opinion, all the guaranteeing Powers should make to the Roumanian Government.

With respect to Servia nothing new has occurred, but a wrong of some years' standing is persevered in, and is still keenly felt by those on whom it is inflicted. The 28th art. of the Treaty of Paris, guaranteeing to Servia full liberty of worship there, has apparently been always understood by the Christian majority of Servians to mean freedom for themselves, together with the right of oppressing the Jews. In March 1867 I brought the subject before the House, and stated that the Jews who, under the rule of Prince Milosch, as well as previously, had been allowed to inhabit every part of Servia, had since 1861 been shut up in a corner of Belgrade. I added that this conduct of the Servians of influence really originated in a jealousy of Jewish traders, who, either from being more clever in business, or from being contented with smaller profits than their competitors, were able 'to provide the Servian peasants with the necessaries they required on cheaper terms than their rivals. It was thus self-interest which was clothing itself in the garb of religious zeal—a kind of hypocrisy more contemptible than bigotry, if it could not be more mischievous.' During the same debate Lord Stanley said: 'The honourable baronet

has adverted to the most material features of the question, and I believe that his statement is fair and accurate. I am quite sure that the feeling of the House will be unanimous in cordially and sincerely sympathising with the object he has in view. I quite agree that we have a moral right to give advice to the Government and people of Servia. I can only confirm what has been stated by the honourable baronet as to the laws now in force in Servia, regulating and restricting the occupations of the Jewish community, and I do not think that he has characterised those laws in terms which are too strong for the occasion. I am afraid it is impossible to deny that the conduct of the Servian people in regard to the Jewish community residing amongst them has been utterly unworthy of a people who reasonably and justly aspire to take their place amongst the civilised communities of Europe.' He went on to express hopes that the pressure of European public opinion would produce improvement. These hopes have, however, been disappointed; and I have within the last few weeks received a communication from Servia describing the severe hardships which the Jews endure from being confined to one quarter of Belgrade, and thus prevented from following their callings, and I have been implored to bring the matter under the notice of the House.

And now, Sir, having described, as shortly as I could, the condition of my brethren in Roumania and Servia, I desire to make some few observations which these facts suggest. Our first feeling on their being called to our attention must, it seems to me, be one of astonishment at finding that in the course of a week's journey we might be brought face to face with events which in Western Europe we could only have encountered if we had been born six or seven centuries ago, in the reign of Richard I., which was disgraced by tumultuous slayings of Jews in London and York; or under the

rule of John, who, when he wanted money, drew, not cheques on his bankers, but teeth from the jaws of the Jews ; or in the days of Edward I., who expelled the Jews wholesale from England ; or at the time of the alleged crucifixion of Christian children at Gloucester and St. Edmundsbury ; or when the Crusaders going to the Holy Land to rescue it from the infidels prepared themselves for their sacred work by murdering the Jews whom they met on the road. But I submit that it is quite time to inform the Roumanians that, although these acts might suit the 12th or 13th century, similar proceedings cannot be endured in the 19th ; that no people can expect to enjoy at once the blessings of civilisation and the pleasures of barbarism ; that they cannot be permitted on the one hand to have a popular representation and to bargain keenly for the terms on which the locomotive and the railway are to be introduced among them, and on the other hand to revel in the luxury of beating and robbing and insulting the wives and daughters of those whose religious opinions they disapprove, and of using a pretence of trial by jury to convict them of serious offences without evidence or against evidence. I venture to suggest that the time has now arrived when some more decided step should be taken. We have had during the last six years enough and more than enough of fair promises broken and of fair hopes disappointed. Under the 27th art. of the Treaty of Paris, and the 8th art. of the Convention of August 1858, the guaranteeing Powers have the full right to authorise Turkey to intervene for the purpose of restoring internal order in Roumania. If they refrain from so strong a step, it does, I own, appear to me that they should at least make jointly a formal representation to Roumania, or even send there a Joint High Commission with a view of putting a stop to a state of things which is a discredit to our age, and of which (in Lord Stanley's emphatic words) 'if the suffering

falls upon the Jew, the disgrace falls upon the Christian.' I have now, Sir, only to thank the House for the favourable attention with which it has heard me, and to move for the production of all recent correspondence between Her Majesty's Secretary of State and her diplomatic agents abroad respecting the condition of the Jews in Roumania and Servia.

APPENDIX V.

*A LETTER CONCERNING THE ROUMANIAN JEWS,
WRITTEN AFTER THE DEATH OF SIR
FRANCIS GOLDSMID.*

The injury which it was feared would be inflicted upon the Jews by the Roumanian Government was pointed out in the following letter. As an expression of one of the last wishes of Sir Francis Goldsmid, it was inserted in the London daily papers of May 11, 1878, under the heading,

‘A WORD ON BEHALF OF THE ROUMANIAN JEWS.’

Sir,—Permit me to request you to insert in your columns the following communication, which I venture to think should receive the utmost publicity. A few days before Sir Francis Goldsmid met with the fatal accident, he requested me to call the attention of the press to the reactionary proceedings adopted by the agents of the Roumanian Government, who have successively contrived to induce the Governments of Austria, Germany, and Switzerland to agree upon the conclusion of a commercial convention between those countries and Roumania, whereby indirectly, and under disguise, a line of distinction is drawn on the score of religion between the Jewish and the Christian merchants,

the former of whom are made to labour under civil and political disabilities.

Overtures for the conclusion of a convention on a similar basis were made to the Italian Government when Signor Melegari was Minister for Foreign Affairs. But that liberal-minded statesman indignantly rejected the disgraceful proposals. When Signor Depretis succeeded him, the Roumanian agent profited by the opportune occasion, and he effected the conclusion of the objectionable convention, to the disgust of everyone who, as a true patriot, must wish that the last vestiges of intolerance should be removed from the laws of his native land.

Sir Francis Goldsmid remarked that negotiations similarly injurious in their tendency might be attempted by Roumanian agents, even in this free country, to the detriment of those civil and political rights the maintenance of which he had advocated since his first entrance into political life. He deplored at the same time his failing strength, which prevented him from protesting in the House of Parliament against such encroachments upon the rights of persons professing the Jewish faith ; and he thought that a good service might be rendered to Roumania itself, where the patriotism of the Jews was equal to the patriotism of the Christians, if the illiberal proceedings of the Roumanian agents were brought under public notice. A chance might thus be afforded for including the civil and political claims of the Roumanian Jews amongst the points which should be considered by a future Congress with a view of preventing a recurrence of numberless outrages.

In justice to my statement I beg leave to mention that on the same day when I had an interview with Sir Francis Goldsmid, I communicated the foregoing observations to Baron Henry de Worms, the President of the Anglo-Jewish Association, who concurred in the opinion that I should

address you on this topic ; but owing to the sudden and lamented death of Sir Francis Goldsmid, I allowed a few days to pass before despatching this letter.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

A. LÖWY,

Secretary of the Anglo-Jewish Association.

160 PORTSDOWN ROAD, LONDON, W. :

May 10, 1878.

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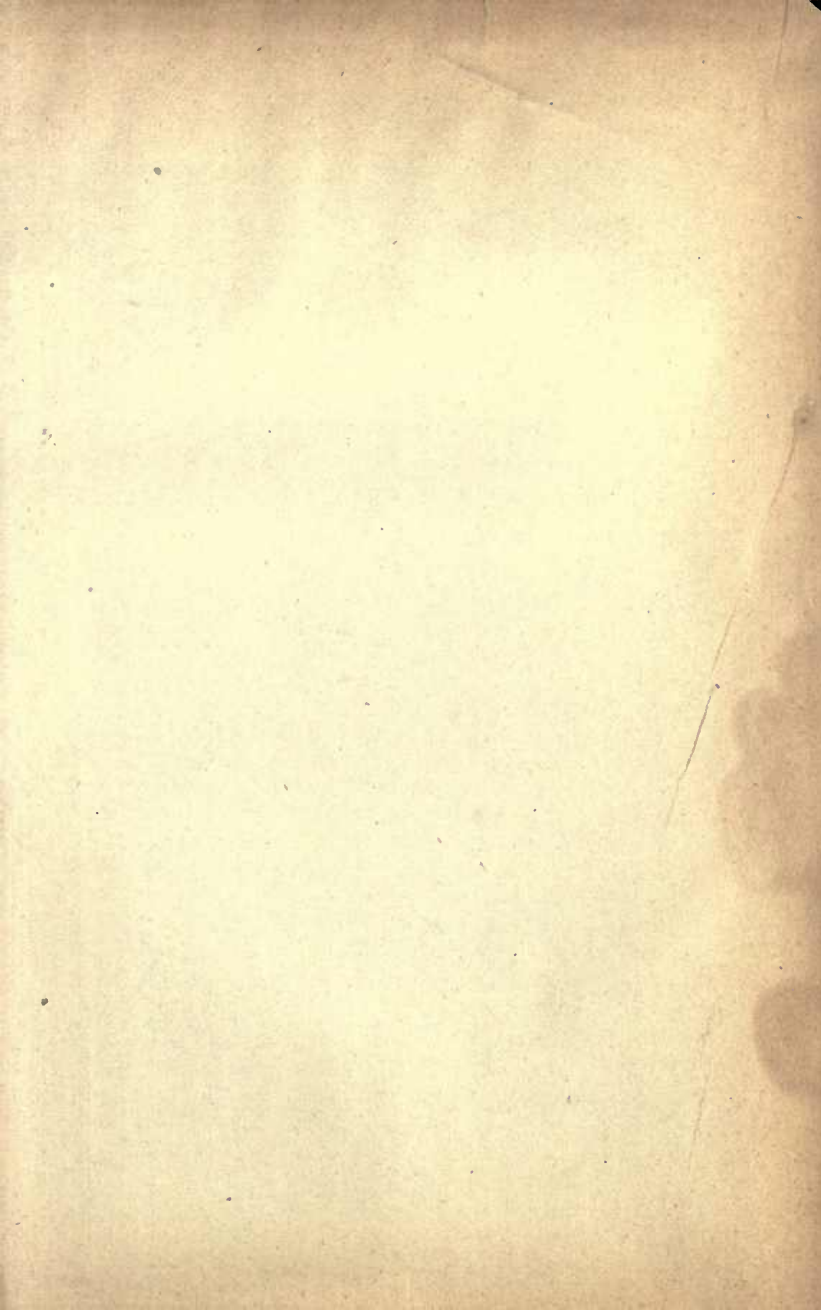
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